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THE MALTESE CORSAIRS AND THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM

By

PAUL CASSAR*

Piracy flourished in the Mediterranean basin from the earliest times. It is known that the ancient Egyptians and the Greeks raided the eastern Mediterranean in such numbers that the Phoenicians and, later on, the Romans had to maintain squadrons of galleys to police their trade routes and to keep the sea-robbers in check. A vigorous revival of piracy occurred from the eleventh century onward as a result of the crusades which imparted a new life to the Mediterranean through the establishment of trade relations between Europe and the Levant. This flow of commerce between East and West attracted the lawless elements of all nationalities and creeds so that the Middle Sea was soon seething with bandits, outlaws, and thieves.

Christian corsairs from the West ventured eastward to plunder Turkish ships and possessions in the Levant, while Moslem sea-robbers from the Barbary coasts attacked European shipping and ports. On many occasions these Moslem raiders descended on Malta and Gozo, while Christian marauders, too, did not scruple from making occasional inroads on these islands.[1] The havoc wrought by all these sea-robbers is perpetuated in Maltese written records, traditions, and legends; but it is not so well known that concurrently with the ascendency of Moslem pirates in the Middle Sea the Maltese Islands became themselves the thorny nest of many a Maltese corsair who preyed on Turkish and Moorish commerce. Indeed, a modern Maltese historian has remarked that in this regard the islanders' ancestors appear to have been sinners as well as sinned against.[2]

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[1] G. A. Vassallo, *Storia di Malta* (Malta, 1854), p. 189.

It seems that the Maltese began taking to the sea as corsairs during the occupation of Malta by the Arabs in 870 A.D. Until then, their main occupations had been agriculture, the breeding of livestock, and fishing. The exercise of piracy by Maltese seamen continued, after the expulsion of the Arabs from Malta, throughout the successive dominations of the Normans, Swabians, Angevines, and Aragonese. Far from being condemned as a nefarious calling, piracy received the encouragement and the patronage of the government of the day as it helped materially to keep the Moslems at bay and also to contribute, by means of the captured goods, to the victualling of the islands, which even in those remote times had to rely on outside sources of food to feed the inhabitants in spite of the existence of a much smaller number of mouths than prevail today. By the tenth century the Maltese pirates shared with the Greeks, the Sardinians, and the Genoese, the reputation of being "the worst members of the fraternity of rovers."[3]

Noble families from Sicily came to settle in Malta attracted by the great opportunity for exercising the "course" against the Moslems, arming galleys, galleots, and other boats for this purpose. Several of them became the possessors of riches and the owners of numerous slaves while the men who manned their ships became expert seamen and pilots.[4] For example, a feudal lord of Malta of the thirteenth century, Count Henry of Malta or Enrico Pescatore as he was also known, organized and led piratical expeditions like his subjects. This Genoese count did not limit himself to attacks on shipping, especially of the Venetian Republic, but having put together a number of ships he invaded the Island of Crete and proclaimed himself its lord in 1206. He fortified Crete with fourteen towers, but he was defeated by the Venetians and ultimately driven away from that island in 1208.[5]

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[2] A. Bartolo, "History of the Maltese Islands" in *Malta and Gibraltar* (London, 1915), p. 56.

[3] S. Lane-Poole, *The Barbary Corsairs* (London, 1890), p. 24.

[4] G. F. Abela, *Descrittione di Malta* (Malta, 1647), p. 447.

[5] R. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie Genovesi nel Mediterraneo* (Bologna, 1938), p. 168.

By 1371 the corsairs of Malta had become notorious. Their offensive powers had increased to such an extent as to draw upon them the wrath of the Genoese, who by means of ten galleys raided the island as a reprisal for the Maltese corsairs' attacks on Christian merchant shipping.[6] In spite of this occurrence, Maltese piracy continued to receive official support. The state exempted Maltese corsairs from the payment of the custom dues on wheat and other foodstuffs consumed by their crews. This privilege stirred shipowners to greater efforts so that by the turn of the fifteenth century the corsair fleet of Malta became so important and the practice of piracy so profitable that it was no longer deemed necessary to give it any further protection. Indeed, during the reigns of Kings Martin I and II of Sicily (1402-1410), the privilege of the tax-free importation of foodstuffs for corsair crews was withdrawn while a levy of twenty per cent, in favor of the Sicilian admiralty, was imposed on the booty. These innovations, however, had a detrimental effect on corsairing so that in 1409 the Malta municipality, in an attempt to prevent the undoing of the corsair trade and to safeguard the interests of Maltese pirates against the rapacity of their royal suzerain, pressed for the repeal of the provisions enacted by the Martins.

In advocating these protective measures, the municipality did not then foresee that in the long run they were destined to create a new set of difficulties which far from inducing the municipality to continue to promote the "guerre de course" obliged it to take steps in the opposite direction. What brought about this change of policy was the circumstance that, owing to the islands' strategic position in the main stream of Mediterranean commerce and to the security of their harbors, the Maltese Islands became the lair of sea-robbers who lurked in the creeks and inlets to spy and swoop down upon the defenseless merchant shipping that passed in their vicinity. Other sea mercenaries, who were wont to lend their services as auxiliaries in the maritime conflicts that divided rival Christian powers, also made the islands their base. The consequence of this maritime development was that many of the Maltese manhood, stirred by a spirit of adventure or attracted by the prospects of wealth, abandoned their peaceful agrarian pursuits to join these adventurers of the sea; but far from returning to Malta laden with riches, most of them never saw their native shores again and disappeared without leaving a trace as to their fate.

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[6] G. F. Abela and G. A. Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata* (Malta, 1780), p. 347.

This exodus of men brought about such a serious depletion of the male element of the population that the municipality became gravely alarmed.[7] When one considers that over-population has been Malta's sore problem for the last one hundred years, it becomes hard to realize that five centuries ago the difficulty facing the government was how to prevent the whittling down of the islands' male inhabitants and how to maintain a sufficiently large population. In their efforts to stop this human denudation, the municipalities of Malta and Gozo sent ambassadors to the Viceroy of Sicily in March, 1438, to solicit his aid in checking this migratory movement. The viceroy allayed their anxieties by a decree which debarred the Maltese from fitting out corsair galleys without first obtaining the license of the municipalities.[8] The need for the preservation of the islands' manhood, however, was still acute two years later when King Alfonso disallowed the male inhabitants from enlisting as sailors on foreign ships. Even so, the critical loss of men through the outbreak of disease, the incursions of the Moslems, and misadventures at sea did not cease; so much was this the case that in 1449, in a further attempt to stem the drain on its population, the municipality was constrained to prohibit completely the exercise of piracy which, in spite of its hazards, had not ceased to be the most favored occupation of the islanders. The problem had not yet been satisfactorily solved by 1475,[9] although subsequent years witnessed an improvement in the demographic situation so that in 1489 the Maltese municipality asked the Viceroy of Sicily to allow Maltese corsairs to re-arm "with the help of God,"[10] the prohibition on corsairing being finally removed by the viceroy in 1494.[11]

One of the earliest Maltese corsairs known by name belonged to the fifteenth century. He was the sea-captain, Michele da Malta, who in 1465 was sought as an ally by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem which was then still in possession of Rhodes. Two years later, however, these friendly relations became strained because Michele took to sweeping the sea round Rhodes with his armed galley and galleot and preying on the Christian merchantmen of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the neighboring islands. In these forays he was aided and favored by King James of Cyprus who allowed the corsair to take shelter in the harbors of his kingdom and also shared the booty with him. When, finally, Michele attacked and seized a galleot of the Knights of St. John and a Venetian ship in 1467, the knights determined to destroy him and a galley was specially equipped to hunt him down. He was discovered on the high seas while on his return to Malta loaded with spoils and towing the captured ships. During the long and fierce engagement that ensued he was shot dead and his men were hailed as prisoners to Rhodes.[12]

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[7] A. Mifsud, "L'approvigionamento e l'Università di Malta nelle passate dominazioni" in *Archivum Melitense,* III (July, 1918), 180.

[8] W. Eton, *Authentic Materials for a History of the People of Malta* (London, 1807), p. 113.

[9] Mifsud, *op. cit.,* p. 180.

[10] Vassallo, *op. cit.,* p. 228.

[11] Eton, *op. cit.,* p. 125.

The granting of the Maltese Islands as a fief to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in 1530 was followed by a flourishing period in Maltese piracy. Since many years prior to its advent to Malta, the order had issued privateering commissions to individual knights to engage in the "guerre de course," reserving for its treasury three-fourths of the profits made.[13] Indeed, while at Rhodes they had already earned the reputation of being the "Christian corsairs of the Levant."[14] As the order's traditional enmity with the Moslem was at its height when it settled in Malta, official sanction was readily given to Maltese corsairing as such practice tallied admirably with the order's aggressive policy toward the Moslems.

Grand Master Pietro del Monte (1568-1572) granted a general license for the fitting of corsair ships under the flag of the order subject to an impost of nine per cent on the booty captured.[15] Under the protection of the order's navy Maltese corsairing came to form a kind of "institution" or "industry" that was eventually organized on well defined business lines and that was made to fit into the moral, social, legal, and economic framework of the community.

Before the advent of the order in Malta, when the island was a county of the Vice Admiral of Sicily, this official exercised a measure of control over Maltese corsairs, issued licenses for the "course," and received a share of the booty. He defined their sectors of activity, imposed, in certain instances, the restitution of captured spoils to their rightful owners, and ordered the arrest of corsair crews guilty of sacking Christian vessels and the confiscation of their ships.[16] Thus a certain amount of regulation over Maltese corsairing had already been established long before the knights set foot on the island, but it was only during the magistership of Grand Master Alofius de Wignacourt that a set of local laws for the control of corsairing was evolved. Severe penalties, ranging from the imposition of fines to the infliction of capital punishment, were laid down for the infraction of these laws.

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[12] I. Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione* [parte seconda], (Rome, 1630), pp. 295, 311.

[13] E. Rossi, *Storia della marina dell'Ordine di San Giovanni* (Rome, 1926), p. 29.

[14] Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[15] G. Laurenza, "I Granmaestri italiani dell'Ordine di San Giovanni," in *Melita,* I (May, 1921), 231.

A special tribunal, called the Magistracy of Armaments, was set up on June 17, 1605, to take cognizance of all matters pertaining to corsairing. Such a step had become inevitable as the prizes and booty taken by the corsairs were reckoned as one of the main sources of revenue that went to fill the national coffer.[17] The first ordinances of the new tribunal were published in the same year but they were not printed until 1658.[18] A commission from the grand master for the exercise of the "guerre de course" became an essential requisite. The issue of letters of marque or privateering commissions was a recognized procedure among the maritime states of the period. These "letters" conferred a certain legal status on the privateer and empowered him to wage a sort of private war under the protection of the nation granting him the commission. This policy was not restricted to the Mediterranean; in fact, it was followed by Queen Elizabeth of England although it was later on abandoned by James I.

In Malta the letters of marque or letters patent, as the official language of the period alludes to them, were drawn up in Latin and were registered in the *Libri bullarum* for preservation in the archives of the order's chancellery. Besides the name and surname of the patentee and his rank or status, the license contained the name of the vessels with which the corsair was empowered to conduct his sea forays; it also specified the area of his operations. The duration for which the license "ad exercendam pyraticam" was valid varied from a few months to a number of years and envisaged the possibility of renewal.[19] The licensee was not allowed, at times, to enroll as crew the seamen living round the Port of the Galleys at Birgu, Senglea, and Bormla and especially those who were already in the employment of the government.[20] The reason behind this prohibition was, apparently, to insure a sufficiently large pool of seamen for the order's fleet in case of an emergency. On the other hand, the licensee could rely on the government to insure that no member of his crew deserted him when on the point of departure for one of his forays. Indeed, crews were ordered, by proclamations in the name of the grand master, to embark within twenty-four hours under penalty of rowing in the galleys for a period of five years.[21]

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[16] G. Darmanin Demajo, "Stray Leaves from the Naval History of the Order," in *Daily Malta Chronicle,* January 9, 1926, p. 6.

[17] L. De Boisgelin, *Ancient and Modern Malta* (London, 1805), I, 113.

[18] A. Micallef, *Dritto municipale di Malta compilato sotto De Rohan* (Malta, 1843), p. 143.

The corsair did not always own the vessel. Sometimes he undertook the expedition in partnership with others, in which case he was obliged to declare the name of his creditors and to register the amounts of money due to every one of them with the notary of the Magistracy of Armaments in order to facilitate the settling of disputes concerning the sharing of prizes. Arms (such as muskets, pistols, swords, etc.) could be borrowed from the government by the corsair after the latter had guaranteed to return the weapons or to make good their loss.[22] To obtain other equipment for his vessel the corsair had, at times, to resort to the money-lender, to whom, during the seventeenth century, he was made to pay as much as fifteen to twenty per cent interest every six months. This practice threatened to bring about the "total ruin of the corsairs" with "very great prejudice to the public" until the grand master intervened and saved the situation in 1662 by prohibiting the imposition of exorbitant rates of interest.[23] Because of financial reasons corsairing suffered another temporary setback in 1679 when sea-captains were unable to obtain the money needed for the equipment of their vessels so that none of the thirty corsairs, who during the previous ten years had become "the terror of the Levant," was able to put out to sea.[24]

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[19] Royal Malta Library, Archives of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, 520, fol. 173t; Arch. 530, fol. 131t. (Hereafter these records will be designated as R.M.L. Arch.)

[20] R.M.L. Arch. 460, fol. 311t.

[21] R.M.L. Manuscript 429, Vol. II, fols. 19, 23, 26, 50, 51, 131.

[22] R.M.L. Arch. 660, fol. 332.

[23] R.M.L. Manuscript 740, fol. 68.

[24] B. dal Pozzo, *Historia della Sacra Religione* (Venezia, 1715), II, 460.

Corsairs authorized to hoist the colors of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem paid a sum of money known as "flag duty"[25] and were only allowed to raid Moslem men-of-war and trade ships. Unauthorized change of flag was punished with death. A proclamation issued to a corsair on November 30, 1739, read as follows:

> Captain Bartholomew Geofre known as Golan by command of His Serene Highness you are forbidden to change flag under penalty of death; the crew, both collectively and individually, are intimated under penalty of death that should the captain change flag they are to tie him, to bring him straight to Malta, to disown him as captain and to obey the senior officer who does not contravene these commands.

Captain Geofre was also ordered to convey the same instructions to all the captains and crews he met at sea and to direct his clerk to preserve a note of such encounters giving the date and place.[26]

All Christian vessels, except those sailing without the license of their government, were immune from assault by Maltese pirates, special emphasis being given to the ships of His Catholic Majesty and of the Venetian Republic, while corsairs "discurrentes per mare Ecclesiae Romanae" were liable to the penalty of excommunication which was also incurred by their "defensores et receptores et fautores."[27] In the mid-seventeenth century complaints were received by the grand master that corsairs under the flag of the order were operating against the Turks in the waters bordering the Holy Land and that as a consequence the irritated Turks were venting their wrath on the Christian inhabitants of that country. Since the sea near the Holy Land was a prohibited area to corsairs flying the order's flag since at least 1647, the grand master issued a decree ordering them to clear out of those waters and offered a reward of 100 *scudi* to anyone revealing the names of corsairs disobeying his orders.[28] In 1673 Maltese corsairs were also debarred by a decree of the grand master from searching French ships carrying the goods of Moslem merchants.[29]

[25] de Boisgelin, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

[26] R.M.L. Manuscript 429, Vol. II, fol. 90; translation from Italian.

[27] R.M.L. Manuscript 6, *Constitutiones in Dioecesana Synodo Melivetana*, (Messina, 1625), p. 46; *Decreta Melivetanae Synodi* (Rome, 1646), p. 32; *Synodus Melivetana*, 1668, fol. 294.

[28] R.M.L. Arch. 120, fol. 146.

[29] dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, II, 327, 417.

The Jews, in accordance with papal instructions, were also to be respected.[30] English maritime commerce, on the other hand, was in the late sixteenth century, and for years afterward, considered to be fair game as it was known that English ships supplied the Barbary States with arms and other goods. For this reason Maltese ships had orders to attack English shipping, and an English ship was, in fact, captured by Maltese corsairs in 1581 and another in 1583.[31] In 1604 it was the fate of two Maltese ships to be raided by two English vessels and conducted to the Island of Milo in the Greek Archipelago. It so happened, however, that a few days later the grand master's galleon *St. Louis,* which was operating against grain ships in Greek waters, discovered the two English ships and after a bloody encounter forced them to surrender with their prey.[32] In June, 1664, an English vessel sailing without proper license and carrying goods to the Barbary coast was intercepted by the order's navy after leaving Leghorn and towed to Malta.[33]

The ships of other Christian nations were occasionally attacked contrary to the injunctions of the rules of the Magistracy of Armaments. Edward Brown, a London merchant, who made a tour of Sicily and Malta toward the last quarter of the seventeenth century, told how a Maltese corsair assaulted and captured a French ship in the eastern Mediterranean. The learned French traveller, M. Thevenot, while returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land

> was taken on Board a French Saique, almost in Sight of the Coast of Syria by a Maltese Caper, that is a Corsair, fitted out from Malta, not one of the vessels of the Order. These pirates not only seized the Vessel and Cargo but stript the Passengers and amongst others M. Thevenot stark naked and next Day sent him ashore with only a few Rags to cover their nakedness. The Port they landed them at was Acra, or Ptolemais, where there happened to be two or three French Merchant Ships in the Harbour. The Turkish Aga thereupon apply'd himself instantly to the French Consul and told him, since this Insult had been offered to his Master's Subjects almost within Sight of the Place, he must insist on his giving Orders to the French Captains to give Chace to the Corsair, offering to accompany them in Person with three or four small arm'd Barks.

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[30] R.M.L. Arch. 480, fol. 260.

[31] dal Pozzo, *Historia della Sacra Religione* (Verona, 1703), I, 221, 234.

[32] *Ibid.,* I, 487.

[33] *Ibid.,* II, 313.

The Consul could not avoid complying with this Request, the French Captains spent the Night in putting their Vessels in order and in the grey of the Morning stood to Sea with the Turkish Barks. As soon as the Corsair saw them, her Crew cut the Cables and crowded all the Sail they could; they chaced them however some Hours, and the Turkish Barks fired at them tho' to no Purpose; at length they gave over, and returned to Port.[34]

The Greek Archipelago, through which flowed much of the seaborne commerce between the Levant and the West, was one of the favorite haunts of the Maltese corsairs. As Greek ships carried a good part of this trade their position in the piratical world often gave rise to disputes. Greek Christians enjoyed the protection of the Order of St. John and Maltese corsairs were enjoined to abstain from plundering their ships and goods. In practice, however, these injunctions were not always scrupulously observed. In fact, we find repeated official warnings and decrees from the seventeenth century onward exhorting Maltese corsairs not "to molest, disturb and harm" the inhabitants of the Greek islands professing the Christian religion. In August, 1726, e.g., Grand Master Ant. Manoel de Vilhena felt the need of reminding seafarers corsairing under the order's flag of the instructions contained in the decree of the venerable council of the order of April 14, 1707, in virtue of which Greek Christians were granted immunity from piratical attacks on the part of Maltese corsairs. He also renewed the punishments meted out to transgressors and which ranged from the imposition of a fine to the infliction of the death penalty.[35] It seems, however, that Maltese corsairs were not always to blame for attacking the Greeks, for the latter, though plying in ships owned and manned by Christians, used to carry Moslem merchandise and to hoist the Turkish flag when sailing in Greek waters under Turkish control.[36]

To secure adherence to the laws of the Magistracy of Armaments the corsair was sometimes made to deposit a sum of money as surety of compliance with his obligations;[37] but, although Maltese corsairs were usually "honourable" and "respectable" captains,[38] they did not always conduct their "trade" in accordance with the law. Indeed, discipline had become so lax in 1679 that the grand master had to send one of his knights to the Levant to recall to Malta all corsairs sailing under the order's flag and to compel them to register the amount and nature of their spoils with the Magistracy of Armaments and to settle their debts with their creditors. The Servant-at-Arms, Fra. M. A. Auger, disobeyed these instructions and was deprived of his habit.[39] When the hunt for Moslem shipping proved fruitless, Maltese pirates did not shrink from ravaging and sacking the coasts and islands of the eastern Mediterranean carrying away the inhabitants to Malta to sell them as slaves.[40]

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[34] E. Brown, *The Travels and Adventures of Edward Brown* (London, 1739), p. 170.

[35] R.M.L. Arch. 530, fol. 140; Arch. 480, fol. 252.

[36] R.M.L. Manuscript 1213.

[37] R.M.L. Arch. 480, fol. 236; R.M.L. Miscellanea 491, Extract 7.

[38] R.M.L. Arch. 530, fol. 140.

Corsairs were allowed to join the order's navy to participate in its warfare against the Turks while occasionally they were hired as auxiliaries to augment the official marine as was done in 1658 when the order went to the aid of the Venetians.[41] On his return to Malta at the end of his forays the corsair registered the quantity and nature of his spoils with the Magistracy of Armaments and his prizes were shared with the owners of the vessel, his creditors, and his crew. Captured ships and slaves were, however, sold by public auction, the government claiming first preference in the purchase of slaves required for the public service. The welfare of captured slaves was secured by law which prohibited corsairs from beating or otherwise ill-treating their captives during the voyage. Female prisoners received special protection from the tribunal. The corsair or his crew who failed to respect the honor of these defenseless women forfeited all rights of property over them and the outraged slave became a free woman in the eyes of the law.

While every facility and protection was offered by the order to Maltese pirates sailing under a commission of the grand master, corsairing on the part of aliens with the aid of the order's subjects was not permitted. Thus Maltese seafarers, even when domiciled abroad, were debarred from joining the crews of corsairs operating under a foreign flag while local artisans and merchants caught fitting out foreign boats for the "guerre de course" or providing them with supplies were condemned as oarsmen on board the galleys for ten years.

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[39] dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, II, 460.
[40] Rossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 75, 77.
[41] dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, II, 267.

Death by hanging was the punishment reserved for Maltese pirates corsairing under the Turkish flag against Christian ships, such an act being considered as one of high treason.[42] We know of at least one such Maltese renegade—Ganga Rossa by name—who scoured the Mediterranean plundering Christian shipping and who was finally captured by the galleys of the order in 1536 and hanged on the shores of Rinella.[43] His, however, was no unique instance of a Christian turning Moslem; indeed, some of the most famous pirates sailing under the banner and protection of the Crescent were actually Christian renegades such as the French Ibrain Rais[44] and Barbarossa, the Calabrese brothers, Ochiali and Jussuf, and the Sicilian Cicala;[45] besides, there were others of Venetian, Greek, and Spanish extraction.[46]

None of the Maltese corsairs ever rose to the prominence achieved by such Moslem sea-robbers as Barbarossa and Dragut—who met his death in Malta through a splinter wound in his head in 1565. The romantic and turbulent episodes that color the careers of these notorious pirates are absent from the deeds of the Maltese corsairs who led less adventurous and villainous lives and who operated on a more modest scale and, more often than not, in accordance with "business" rules under the aegis of the law. In spite of their lack of glamor they constituted a formidable barrier to Moslem expansion in the Mediterranean. Indeed, the fear of being captured by Maltese corsairs or the warships of the Order of St. John induced Turkish merchants to entrust their goods to any nation who happened to be at peace with Malta to ensure their safe delivery. More often than not the favored nation was France as this was the power which had the greatest influence on the order.[47]

While it would be tedious to enumerate all the Maltese corsairs known to us, it may not be out of place to mention a few of them. Paolo Micciolo and Martin Mula operated very successfully in the sixteenth century.[48] Captain Daniel (1669),[49] Paolo Bezzina (1686)[50] and Albino Portughese (1696)[51] belonged to the seventeenth century; in the following century we hear of Captains Leonardo Sacco (1716), Giovanni Borg (1716), Antonio Rizzo (1726), Aloisio Seychell (1726), Gio Battista Rizzo (1729),[52] Luca Bartolo (1738) and Paolo Spiteri (1739).[53] Besides these surnames, almost all of which are still met with in Malta, we come across others qualified as being Maltese in the letters of marque of the seventeenth century but which have a marked foreign flavor and which no longer exist today such as Mighot, Dell'Occhio, Maldonato, Di Milo, Gaione, and Doresin.[54]

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[42] *Del Dritto Municipale di Malta* (Malta, 1784), pp. 236-250.

[43] Vassallo, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

[44] dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, II, 23.

[45] R. Paribeni, *Malta* (Bergamo, 1930), p. 58.

[46] Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[47] de Boisgelin, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[48] Vassallo, *op. cit.*, p. 605.

[49] dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, II, 384.

[50] *Ibid.*, II, 630.

A number of foreigners also held privateering commissions from the grand master, such as Paolo Caminiti (1620), Jacques Sarasin (1621), Andrea Jofre (1621),[55] Francesco di Lazzaro (1716), Francesco Sicard (1716), Jacob Balester (1726) and a host of others with the French element predominating in the second decades of the seventeenth century.[56]

A Corsican corsair, Guglielmo Lorenzi, who operated under the order's flag, has left an indelible mark on Maltese history not only as a pirate but also as a staunch friend of the Maltese. He had come to Malta in his early youth, made a name for himself as an intrepid sea-captain, and in 1787 joined the imperial Russian navy. Eventually he was given command of a squadron and fought against the Turks. Having retired from the Russian navy with the rank of colonel, he returned to Malta. In 1799, during the Maltese insurrection against the French, he organized a force of men from among the insurgents with the idea of capturing Valletta from the French in a surprise morning attack. His attempt failed and he was taken prisoner by the French and shot.[57]

The ships in which Maltese pirates swept the sea in the piracy season—spring and summer—were of all kinds. They included galleys with twenty-five to thirty benches of oars, galleots of fourteen to seventeen rowers' banks, brigantines of thirteen to fourteen benches, frigates of eleven benches, caiques of six to eight benches, "feluccas,"

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[51] R.M.L. Arch. 500, fol. 100t.

[52] R.M.L. Arch. 530, fols. 131, 131t, 135t, 147t.

[53] R.M.L. Manuscript 429, Vol. II, fols. 51, 75.

[54] R.M.L. Arch. 460, fols. 311, 311t, 312; Arch. 480, fols. 252t, 260; Arch. 510, fol. 122.

[55] R.M.L. Arch. 460, fols. 311t, 337, 337t, 347t.

[56] R.M.L. Arch. 530, fols. 141, 147t.

[57] Vassallo, *op. cit.*, p. 782.

"tartanes," "polaccas," and "petaccios."[58] Some of these vessels carried from three to five pieces of artillery, while the strength of the crews of the smaller vessels varied from eight to thirty-two men.[59] At times the losses of these crafts through mishaps at sea or through capture by the enemy were so heavy that the order's government had to enforce the temporary prohibition of corsairing on the part of brigantines and smaller boats.[60] The names of these crafts have come down to us. As befitted a Catholic country governed by a religious brotherhood owing allegiance to the Holy See, the vessels were nearly all named after saints or after some principal tenet of the Catholic faith. Thus we meet with *The Blessed Virgin of Mount Carmel, St. Joseph, The Blessed Viaticum, The Holy Souls of Purgatory, St. Paul, St. Francis of Paola,*[61] *St. Louis, St. Leonard, Our Lady of Loreto,* and *St. Giles.*[62]

Letters of marque were issued not only to private citizens but also to the knights who retained only one-fourth of the value of the prizes captured, the remainder being made over to the government. The following is an English translation of the license granted by Grand Master Raymond de Perellos y Roccafull to the Knight Charles de Willers on February 27, 1696:

> Whereas the Knight Charles de Willers was empowered by the Most Eminent Grand Master, our predecessor, to wage war against the Infidel with an armed ship flying the banner of Our Sacred Religion; and whereas his licence to go corsairing was extended for a period of five years; and whereas, finally, the same Knight-Captain was permitted to equip two oar-driven vessels under the Order's flag for the continuation of the war against the Infidel during the above mentioned period, after having taken the customary oath and undertaken, as usual, not to molest the Christians and after having declared his willingness to abide by the obligations contained in the Ordinances, and Decrees of Armaments, We, therefore, in virtue of these presents do confirm and ratify the above-named authority to wage war against the Infidel with his ship and with his two oar-driven vessels during the above-stated period. We also ordain that his ships,

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[58] R.M.L. Arch. 460, fols. 311, 311t, 312, 312t, 322t, 323; Arch. 480, fols. 252t, 260.

[59] R.M.L. Arch. 480, fol. 252t.

[60] dal Pozzo, *op. cit.,* II, 30.

[61] R.M.L. Arch. 520, fol. 173t; Arch. 530, fols. 131t, 147t.

[62] R.M.L. Arch. 480, fol. 236; Arch. 460, fols. 311t, 312, 318t, 323.

together with their crews and prizes, be accorded free passage by sea and by land wherever they may happen to travel.[63]

Needless to say, piracy attracted the most restless and turbulent characters among the knights who, under the pretext of defending the Christian faith, ranged the Mediterranean to pillage and plunder. Among these pirate-knights we meet with Fra Mathurin de Lescaut, known as Romegas (1581), Fra Filippo Mazza (1534),[64] Fra Francesco de Moysi (1546),[65] Fra Gabriele de Bos de Themericourt who was eventually taken prisoner and beheaded by the Turks in 1672,[66] Fra Giacomo de Toville Escrainville (1665),[67] Fra Vincenzo Alessandri who ended his days as a slave at Constantinople in 1657,[68] Fra Servente Gravié (1660),[69] Fra Theodosio D'Estampes who was killed during an engagement with a Turkish ship in 1666, Fra Giovanni Dureil (1666),[70] Fra Benedetto Sacchetti (1620), Fra Adriano de Saccus, Fra Pietro de Guy La Pottiniera, Fra Antonio de Stenville, Fra Raymondo Ravelli, Fra Onorato de Montleon, Fra Filiberto de Tristan, Fra Antonio Bernardo Montebisa,[71] and Fra Francesco Le Groin.[72]

Sometimes the grand master himself armed galleys at his own risk and expense and sent them out to plunder Moslem maritime commerce, the ships being captained by knights. E.g., in 1602 Grand Master Alofius de Wignacourt purchased an armed galleon from Normandy for the "guerre de course." He also possessed and used for the same purpose another two galleons and a *petacchio* which, besides slaves, brought to Malta several Moorish craft laden with soap, cheese, and wheat.[73]

Owing to the prevalence of ceaseless warfare between Christians and Moslems, and also between rival European powers, all vessels carried guns and other weapons so that every ship was at once a merchantman, a privateer, and a man-of-war. Besides, although the present distinction between the state marine and privately owned ships was taking shape in those days, it had not yet been clearly established. It is not, therefore, surprising that units of the order's navy often engaged in privateering on their own account and that at times it becomes impossible to draw the line between their crusading expeditions and their corsairing exploits. Nor were their forays restricted to attacks on the infidel; in fact, the ships of Christian powers were not always secure against depredations by the order's marine. In 1534 the knight Fra Filippo Mazza was arrested by the Venetians for attacking Christian ships in the Adriatic and in the Gulf of Venice. He succeeded in escaping and resumed his piratical activities, but he was recaptured and beheaded and his ships burned.[74] In 1555 Pope Paul IV felt compelled to order the grand master to prevent the knights from molesting Venetian shipping,[75] but Venice was again constrained to take reprisals against the order in 1582-1583 on account of attacks on her shipping. Some years earlier, by reason of the knights' assault on a ship of the Venetian Republic, the senate ordered the Venetian navy to raid all Maltese ships with which it fell in. The senate also protested to the pope, as supreme head of the order, against the plunderings of the knights who were accused of being more intent on ranging the seas to prey on ships like a pack of barbarians than on the observance of the statutes of their brotherhood.[76] Venice also complained that the Maltese were obstinate corsairs who, through their plunderings, disrupted its commercial traffic, hindered the victualling of the Island of Candia, and irritated the Turks who vented their chagrin on Venetian possessions. The republic, while insisting on the restoration of prizes, demanded the perpetual exclusion of Maltese corsairs from its waters. A satisfactory settlement of these differences was only reached through the intervention of Pope Gregory XIII.[77] It must, however, be remembered that Venice was not altogether guiltless of piracy; in fact, its citizens had earned the reputation of being "semi-Turks" and the "concubine of the Turk."[78]

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[63] R.M.L. Arch. 500, fol. 108.

[64] P. Falcone, "Una relazione di Malta sulla fine del cinquecento" in *Archivio Storico di Malta,* IV (January-March, 1933), 7.

[65] R.M.L. Arch. 420, fol. 215t.

[66] dal Pozzo, *op. cit.,* II, 405.

[67] R.M.L. Arch. 480, fol. 236; dal Pozzo, *op. cit.,* II, 328.

[68] dal Pozzo, *op. cit.,* II, 264.

[69] *Ibid.,* II, 291.

[70] R.M.L. Arch. 480, fol. 252.

[71] R.M.L. Arch. 460, fols. 312t, 318t, 322t, 323.

[72] R.M.L. Arch. 510, fol. 127.

[73] H. Scicluna, "Il Gran Maestro Alofio de Wignacourt attraverso un manoscritto" in *Archivum Melitense,* VI (April, 1925), 96, 99, 137.

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[74] Falcone, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[75] J. P. E. de La Gravière, *Les Chevaliers de Malte* (Paris, 1887), p. 72.

[76] M. N. Mocenigo, *Storia della Marina Veneziana* (Rome, 1935), pp. 91, 134.

[77] Falcone, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[78] de La Graviere, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

During the war between France and Spain in 1637-1638, French knights equipped vessels for the "guerre de course" against the Spaniards. This act constituted a breach of the order's neutrality and the grand master succeeded in restoring discipline among his knights only after he threatened them with expulsion from the brotherhood;[79] but two French knights were arrested by the grand master for attacking Christian ships while corsairing under the flag of Savoy.[80] Similar trouble again arose in 1651. French knights took to plundering Christian merchantmen and, to discourage them, the grand master ordered these knights to keep away from Malta. He further ordered the coastal batteries to repulse with gunfire any French pirate-knight who dared approach the island. This was the kind of welcome that greeted the French knight La Carte when, contrary to the grand master's orders, he tried to enter Marsaxlokk Harbor and that compelled him to flee out to sea without delay.[81] In subsequent years to ensure obedience from the knights engaged in the "guerre de course," they had to declare on oath that they would refrain from molesting the ships and property of the subjects and friends of the order, especially those of the crowns of France and of Spain.[82]

Occasionally it was neither the religious motive nor the lust for riches that spurred the order's navy to chase and seize the ships of both the infidel and Christian; but it was the stark terror of starvation that forced them to resort to the strong hand. In 1536 Sicilian ships sheltering in Maltese harbors were compelled by the order's government to sell their grain to the Maltese municipality whose chief task was the victualling of the island with wheat.[83] In 1589 when famine was stalking the Maltese Islands, the General of the Galleys was instructed to put out to sea to seek grain ships and bring them forcibly to Maltese ports. Similar measures were adopted in 1591 to feed the island's population. In November, 1600, the municipality could see no other way for making good the shortage of bread than by fitting out two vessels for the capture of grain ships. Raids on the Barbary coast and other places in the Levant were organized with the same aim and boats were posted along the shipping routes with orders to divert grain-traders to Malta. These expeditions not only repulsed the specter of hunger and death from the island but also enriched local shipowners engaged in these forays.[84] Famine again gripped the island two years later. At the beginning of March, 1602, a Sicilian grain ship, rescued from the Turks, was conveyed to Malta by the order's galleys. The grand master decided to use the grain for the succor of the Maltese population in spite of the protests of the Jurats of Messina as he feared that otherwise the inhabitants would starve to death or revolt against the government.[85] In 1636 a *tartana* was equipped to chase Greek ships laden with grain and bring them to Maltese ports, while in 1648 a Flemish vessel loaded with wheat was also conducted to the island and obliged to sell its cargo to the government.[86]

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[79] dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, II, 20.
[80] *Ibid.*, II, 26.
[81] *Ibid.*, II, 189.
[82] R.M.L. Arch. 6389, fol. 28.
[83] Vassallo, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

A British ship carrying wheat to an Italian port in 1764 was forced to enter a Maltese harbor and to discharge its life-saving cargo in spite of the protestations of its captain and of the Inquisitor. These floutings of international conventions were not always acts of robbery; in fact, the captured wheat or grain was often paid for and when cash was not immediately available arrangements for eventual payment were made with the captain or with the owners of the cargo.[87] It is of interest to note that these high-handed tactics were not the exclusive practice of the order but were followed at the dawn of the nineteenth century by Sir Thomas Troubridge while he was blockading the French in Valletta. In his endeavors to relieve the plight of the starving Maltese who had risen against their French masters, he sent his ships to Sicilian ports to seize vessels carrying corn if their owners refused to sell it. In this way two grain ships were captured and brought to Malta and the famished population succored.[88]

By the mid-seventeenth century the British, French, and Dutch fleets in the Mediterranean turned their might against the Barbary corsairs and from then onward Moslem piracy began to decline gradually until it was finally suppressed following the capture of Algiers in 1830.[89] There were, however, other factors which contributed to the extinction of Mediterranean piracy, both Moslem and

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[84] Mifsud, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[85] R.M.L. Liber Conciliorum, Vol. 100, fol. 259t.

[86] dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, II, 163.

[87] Mifsud, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[88] W. Hardman, *A History of Malta* (London, 1909), p. 255.

[89] E. Rossi, "Il dominio dei cavalieri di Malta a Tripoli" in *Archivum Melitense*, VI, 54.

Christian. The commercial needs and the political concert of Europe brought about a gradual but steady narrowing of the gulf of religious enmity between the Knights of St. John and the Moslems in the early years of the eighteenth century, so much so that friendly relations began to be established between the order and some of the Moslem potentates of North Africa in 1711,[90] until by the second half of the century Malta was receiving foodstuffs from Cyrenaica. But what precipitated the extinction of Maltese piracy was the British protectorate of the island at the opening of the nineteenth century, for far from endorsing the order's traditional policy of aiding and protecting Christian corsairs, the British authorities were determined on the complete repression of piracy irrespective of creed and nationality.

In October, 1815, the Court of Oyer and Terminer—from the Anglo-French terms meaning "to hear and determine"—was set up to take cognizance of piratical crimes, its sittings being held under the chairmanship of His Excellency the Governor at the Palace in Valletta. The system of trial by jury was first introduced in Malta in connection with this tribunal,[91] and piratical offenses were made punishable by transportation to New South Wales and by death.[92] Only one instance of Maltese piracy created a sensation after the establishment of the tribunal of Oyer and Terminer. In 1817 the lieutenant governor offered a reward of 1,000 *scudi* (a *scudo* being reckoned at 1s 8d) to any person giving information leading to the capture of the six men forming the crew of a "Maltese passage boat painted black with a white streak" that had attacked and robbed the *San Calcedonio,* an Italian sailing boat, which had left the harbor of Malta on the evening of September 17. The *San Calcedonio* was boarded by the Maltese corsairs, who were masked and wore turbans, when it was about six miles off the port. Two of the pirates rushed into the cabin and carried off upwards of 1,800 dollars after having cut the main halyards and thrown overboard the main sail.[93] The culprits were caught and put on trial the following year. Three of them were sentenced to death, but only one of them was actually hanged; the other two were banished from Malta "for the term of their natural lives," and the rest were sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. One of these, however, succeeded in escaping to Tunis where he turned Mohammedan. In October, 1819, he returned to Malta but was arrested, put in irons, and sent to prison.[94] The next trial for piratical offenses to cause a stir in the island took place in 1820. This time, however, the accused were not Maltese pirates but the British crew of the brig *William* under Captain Charles Christopher Delano. They were found guilty of boarding and robbing the *Helen* near Cape Gatt in Spain. Four of them were hanged on their own ship in the middle of the grand harbor and the rest, except two who were reprieved, met their death on the scaffold near Fort Ricasoli.[95] Their bodies were hung on gibbets in ironbound corsets and trousers and left dangling there for years.

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[90] Rossi, *Storia della marina. . . .*, pp. 36, 75, 90.

[91] *Charges of H. E. the Governor First Commissioner under His Majesty's Commission of Piracy for the Islands of Malta, Gozo and their Dependencies to the Grand and Petty Juries* (Malta, 1815).

[92] *Malta Government Gazette,* October 11, 1815, p. 427; October 22, 1817, p. 1139.

[93] *Ibid.,* September 24, 1817, p. 1106; April 8, 1818, p. 1336.

The business done by the Court of Piracy was always inconsiderable in amount. Up to 1833, only twenty-eight cases had been dealt with since its inception, and none was brought before it in the following three years. It was clear that this court had outlived its purpose. It was accordingly abolished following the recommendations of the royal commission of 1836.[96] By that time Maltese seafarers had long laid aside their piratical ways and were steering their ships on more peaceful errands.

Malta

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[94] *Ibid.,* October 13, 1819, p. 1981; October 7, 1818, p. 1551; October 14, 1818, p. 1557.

[95] *Ibid.,* October 6, 1819, p. 1972; February 2, 1820, p. 2108; February 4, 1820, n.p.

[96] *Reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Affairs of the Island of Malta* (London, 1838), Part III, 43-44.

MISCELLANY

LETTERS OF WILLIAM H. ORAM: RED RIVER MISSIONARY

EDITED BY

PHILIP D. JORDAN*

On February 23, 1861, John Mullaly, editor of New York's *Metropolitan Record,* printed the first of three letters that related the travel adventures of a group of Catholic missionaries come from France to spread the Gospel at St. Boniface in the Canadian wilderness. On March 2 the second letter appeared, and the third was published in the issue of August 24.[1] These three accounts, written by the Reverend William Henry Oram and mailed from Red River in the Hudson's Bay Territory, were enthusiastic, lively, and picturesque. They were exactly the colorful type of news that the *Metropolitan Record,* then the official organ of Archbishop John Hughes, enjoyed giving to its readers.[2]

Not too much is known of Oram's early life, but he was probably born in Brooklyn in 1838 and received the usual grammar school education of his day. Although his parents were Protestants, the boy was converted to Catholicism about the time he was twenty and shortly thereafter determined to enter the priesthood. He was received into the Catholic Church in Montreal and became a student there in the Grand Séminaire. Oram himself seems to have left no explanation for his conversion, but of this there is no doubt. He is referred to by Benoit as a "protestant converti."[3] Emile Grouard, after explaining that Oram's family was violently anti-Catholic, quotes the young convert:

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[1] The Walker Library of the University of Minnesota holds microfilm of the *Metropolitan Record.*

[2] Apollinaris W. Baumgartner, *Catholic Journalism: A Study of Its Development in the United States, 1789-1930* (New York, 1931), p. 19; John R. G. Hassard, *Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes, D.D., First Archbishop of New York with Extracts from His Private Correspondence* (New York, 1866), p. 495.

[3] Paul Benoit, *Vie de Mgr. Taché* (Montreal, 1904), I, 477.

> Je connais des catholiques qui sont d'aussi honnêtes gens que nous. Peuvent-ils être aveugles à point? Il faut que je voie si c'est vrai . . . Après avoir réfléchi quelques instants, je me décidai, racontait-il lui même, à prendre un moyen que me semblait le meilleur. Je regardai dans mon livre les péchés que je pourrais accuser, et je pris la somme d'argent fixée par le tarif. J'entrai dans une église catholique et me rendis droit au confessionnal. Dès qu'une place fut vide je m'y glossai, je débitai ma liste et j'allais donner l'argent. Le confesseur me fit remontrances si charitables et me donna de si sages conseils, sans me demander un sou, que me retirai vite. J'avais reçu plus que je m'y attendais.[4]

Grouard adds that thereafter Oram studied Catholic doctrine, was received into the Church, and eventually became a missionary in the Red River region.

The details of Oram's life become clearer in 1860, for, in that year, while not yet ordained, he was given by Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal to the party of Vital-Justin Grandin. Grandin was returning from France, where he had been elevated to the episcopacy on November 30, 1859. Now he was going to the Red River with a group of Oblates of Mary Immaculate and others, to serve as bishop coadjuter to Bishop Alexandre Taché of the Diocese of St. Boniface in Manitoba. Grandin's party arrived in Quebec in early May, 1860. When it left Montreal on June 4, Oram was a member of the group. He took minor orders and was ordained after reaching St. Boniface. These events are described in the letters.

At St. Boniface, Oram taught English in the college and performed the usual clerical duties in the cathedral parish. Now and again, he contributed to the *Nor'Wester*.[5] It is possible that he briefly served the parish of Sandwich, although such an assignment is curious as Oram was on loan from Montreal to St. Boniface. It is known, however, that he barely escaped the great fire of December 14, 1860. In this blaze the parish register was destroyed. Immediately a new book was opened, and the second entry, recording the baptism of Joseph Alary, was made by Oram on December 25. His crippled leg, however, made pastoral duties increasingly difficult, and he left Canada in

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[4] Emile Grouard, *Souvenirs de mes soixante ans d'Apostolat dans l'Athabacka-Mackenzie* (Lyon and Winnipeg, n.d.), pp. 17-18.

[5] Sister Curran to Mother Deschamps, June 13, 1861. Copy from "Lettres et Mémoires de St. Boniface, 1843-1861," p. 553; original in the archives of the Grey Nuns Motherhouse, Montreal.

1862. The last act signed by him in the parish register is the marriage of a Philippe Stevens, which was dated July 21.[6]

After leaving Canada he became pastor of St. Stephen's Church in Oil City, Pennsylvania, where he remained during 1864. Thereafter he served parishes in Yonkers, New York, and in Columbus, Indiana. In 1873 he was assigned to the Church of the Assumption at Hackettstown, New Jersey, where he remained for sixteen years.[7] He died at the age of fifty-one in St. Vincent's Hospital, New York, on April 15, 1889, and was buried in St. Joseph's Cemetery, Washington, New Jersey.[8]

Oram's letters reveal the long, arduous trip from Montreal to St. Boniface in detail and comprise one of the better travel accounts of the period. In addition, they shed new light on the day-by-day activities of the Grandin party, describe the lay of the land between St. Paul and St. Boniface, and give insight into the missionary efforts and the personal life of Oram and his Oblate companions of the wilderness.[9]

University of Minnesota

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[6] For the material in this paragraph, I am indebted to Professor Thomas M. Coakley, St. John's College, Winnipeg; the Reverends Pierre Picton, archivist of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface, and Lucien Hardy, St. Boniface College. An appraisal of Oram is found in A. G. Morice, *Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien* (Montreal, 1912), II, 17: "Il avait la parole facile, en français tout aussi bien qu'en anglais, et, bien que ses études theologiques aient été nécessairement incomplètes, il rendit de grands services à son évêque et s'acquit l'estime universelle." This passage does not appear in the English edition.

[7] Oram's career, after leaving Canada, may be traced by reference to both the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* and *Sadliers' Catholic Directory*.

[8] I am indebted to the Very Reverend Joseph P. Sergel, Church of the Assumption, Hackettstown, New Jersey, for this information. Unfortunately, the fire which burned the chancery office of the Diocese of Trenton in 1956 destroyed any Oram records which were on file there.

[9] Alex. Taché, *Vingt Années de Missions dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Amerique* (Montreal, 1866), p. 176; for a brief sketch of the Catholic missions at St. Boniface, cf. John Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great North-West* (Guelph, Ontario, 1882), pp. 540-545.

[LETTER 1]

Red River, Hudson Bay Territory,
via St. Paul's, Minnesota

Dear Sir — The perusal of a few of your (to us) recent numbers, which one of your subscribers in these parts handed me, has given me the idea of affording your readers an account of this portion of the Lord's vineyard. It is now more than a year since the Rt. Rev. Dr. Grandin—who had been nominated three years previous by the Holy See coadjutor Bishop of St. Boniface—repaired to France, to receive at the hands of the venerable Bishop of Marselles [*sic*]—the superior-general of the Oblate Fathers—the Episcopal consecration.[1] He returned last spring, accompanied by a band of noble-hearted missionaries, mostly Oblates, who had said a last farewell to their sunny France, and its dear associations, in order to carry the glad tidings of the Gospel to the poor Indians of the Northwest.[2] His route lay through Montreal, where he tarried a few days in the hope of receiving new accessions to his auxiliaries. He was not disappointed. Mariavilla—the city *par excellence* of Catholic charity and Catholic zeal—did not belie her reputation, but generously sacrificed some of her consecrated virgins to a work, the nobler and more meritorious in the sight of heaven, as one calling for an heroic renunciation of self, and all the endearments of home, friends and country. The writer of these lines had the honor of joining the bishop's party.[3] When all was ready, we repaired to the convent of Gray [*sic*] nuns. It was there that, after mass, the parting scene was to transpire; and a touching scene it proved, especially when we all pressed our lips to the floor of the sacred cloister. Not an eye was dry, not a heart but had its emotions, and not a spectator but wished these heralds of the cross God-speed.

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[1] Grandin was elevated to the episcopacy by Bishop Charles J. E. de Mazenod at Marseilles on November 30, 1859; for details of Grandin's selection cf. A. G. Morice, *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada* (Toronto, 1910), I, 262-263; a biography of Grandin is Léon Hermant, *Vital-Justin Grandin* (Bruxelles, 1937); for a short, popular life, cf. Paul-Henri Barabé, *Quelques Figures de notre Histoire* (Hull and Ottawa, 1941). An adequate biography of de Mazenod, founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, is Robert Cooke's *Sketches of the Life of Mgr. de Mazenod* (Dublin, 1914). A biography of Mazenod is now in progress by Canon Jean Leflon of the Catholic Institute of Paris.

[2] Emile Grouard lists Grandin's companions on the trip from Calais to Quebec in April, 1860 as: ". . . les Pères Sequin et Caër, Oblats; le frère Boisramé, Oblat aussi; M. l'abbé Casté, qui devait faire son noviciat à la Rivière-Rouge; Henri Godard, ex-soldat qui voulait être frère convers, et moi simple séminariste minoré." *Souvenirs de mes Soixante ans d'Apostolat dans l'Athanaska-Mackenzie* (Lyon and Winnipeg, n.d.), p. 4. Dom Paul Benoit, commenting on the ocean passage, wrote that Grandin left Liverpool on May 2 "avec sept compagnons pleins de zèle: les Péres Séquin, Caër, Gasté, le F. Grouard, scholastique, les Frères convers Boisramé et Godard." Paul Benoit, *Vie de Mgr. Taché: Archevêque de St. Boniface* (Montreal, 1904), I, 406-407.

Soon after the whistle of the iron horse gave the wonted signal of departure, and in a short time Montreal, with its cathedral, churches, convents, colleges, and stately edifices, was left far behind. On we sped with lightning rapidity, through miles of virgin forests, over winding streams, now stopping at a rising town or village, and then plunging into the wilds once more. We were fortunate enough to be all seated together; so that what with the recitation of the divine office, and the conversation which the French know so well how to season with spicy wit, we passed the time very agreeably. The conductors of the Grand Trunk Railroad distinguished themselves by their liberality, in making considerable deductions for our party, and by seeing us provided with the best accommadations [*sic*].[4] In a little more than 24 hours we arrived at Sarnia,[5] the limit of Western Canada, where we took a steamboat for Detroit, some 60 miles distant, which we made in a few hours.[6] At Detroit we took the train for Chicago, which beautiful city we reached at 9 o'clock the same evening.[7] We had but a few moments to refresh ourselves in this western city, being obliged to leave it the same evening for Lacrosse, Wisconsin, where we arrived in the morning of the following day. The steamboat which was to take us to St. Paul did not arrive from St. Louis before eight, so that we had time enough to look at the beautiful town of Lacrosse to our heart's content.[8] After a long search we discovered the Catholic church, whose pastor received us with cordiality, offering the bishop the materials for saying mass on the following day. Finally, the noble steamer came up, plowing the beautiful waters of the Mississippi, and moored to her dock to receive her quota of passengers and freight.[9] It must have been more than eleven o'clock before we started. The passengers were mostly of the higher class of travellers, and were very courteous to the bishop and his suite. The Sisters, especially, were universal objects of interest among the ladies, who surrounded them and asked them any number of questions —such as how much they were paid for going so far, &c. The gentlemanly captain of the boat was unremitting in his attentions, offering his cabin for the celebration of mass, and often inquiring as to our health, &c.

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[3] This reference of Oram's is made clear by Benoit where he writes: "Il [Grandin] laissa à Québec le F. Grouard, pour achever ses études, mais reçut à Montréal M. Oram protestant converti, qui lui donna l'évêque de cette ville. Trois Soeurs Grises et deux de leurs auxiliares se joignirent au cortège." ". . . les Soeurs Agnès, supérieure, Pepin et Boucher" (I, 407, 411).

[4] Incorporated in 1852, the Grand Trunk Railroad was completed to Sarnia in 1859.

[5] Sarnia, in Lambton County, Ontario, first was settled in 1833 and incorporated as a town in 1856.

[6] For transportation between Sarnia and Detroit cf. scattered references in Harlan Hatcher, *Lake Erie* (Indianapolis, 1945); for a history of Detroit, cf. Arthur Pound, *Detroit: Dynamic City* (New York, 1940).

[7] An excellent description of the city at the time Oram passed through is found in Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago, 1848-1871* (New York, 1940).

Our passage to St. Paul was very agreeable, and gave my French friends quite a favorable impression concerning American progress, American liberality, and the beauty of American scenery. The Mississippi, between Dubuque and St. Paul, is enough to enrapture the least enthusiastic admirers of Nature. Now winding its clear, limpid waters between lofty hills, whose summits tower far above the steamer's foremast, now gliding between never-ending forests, wherein the woodman's axe has never been heard, and whose stillness is broken by no other sound than the sighing of the wind in the branches of its huge trees, the carolling of the untamed bird, or the howling of the beast of prey. Again, sailing in the midst of a prairie, limitless in appearance as the sea; the sight was altogether grand, and worthy a painter's pencil. On the evening of the 7th we saw, for the first time, the apostolical city of St. Paul. The reverend bishop, accompanied by a clergyman, together with the Sisters, went, the former to the residence of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Grace,[10] and the latter to the convent of presentation nuns.[11] The rest of us preferred accepting the generous offer of the captain of passing the night on board. We rose on the following morning quite refreshed; and bidding good bye to the noble "Milwaukee," we proceeded to the bishop's residence. We found it, after a short walk. The reception given us by Dr. Grace and his clergy was everything we could wish for. The learned prelate, who is as amiable in reality as in looks, placed his dwelling at our disposal, and treated us in a truly American manner. During our short stay in St. Paul's, I had time to see this beautiful little city, whose rapid growth is one more evidence of American enterprise and American progress. Twenty years ago its present site was destitute of a house, now it numbers its inhabitants by thousands.[12] It is the seat of a bishopric, and can boast of several beautiful buildings. The cathedral is a fine, substantial structure, built on a rocky foundation.[13] The floor of the basement is one unbroken rock. Bishop Grace pressed us very hard to stay over Sunday with him, but Bishop Grandin was anxious to be moving onward towards his field of labor.

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[8] La Crosse, originally an Indian trading post, is situated at the confluence of the La Crosse, Black, and Mississippi Rivers, and thus became a thriving river port as well as a most important center between Dubuque and St. Paul for men and supplies traveling toward the Northwest.

[9] This boat, as Oram indicates later, was the *Milwaukee,* which was built at Cincinnati in 1856 and put into service on the Mississippi under the command of Captain Stephen Hewitt, the following spring. It was a side-wheeler, 240 feet long, with a 33-foot beam, and of 550 tons burden. George B. Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi* (Cleveland, 1909), pp. 120, 280. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., wrote a picturesque account of a trip in 1860 aboard the *Milwaukee* which was published in *Minnesota History,* VIII (June, 1927), 167 ff. Brief, but informative, references to the steamer may be found in William J. Peterson's *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* (Iowa City, 1937).

So on Sunday morning we all started on our long way, seated on the baggage, which filled four large lumber wagons. The bishop rode in a buggy with the Very Rev. Mr. Ravony [*sic*][14] for a mile, when he joined the rest of us. You will admit that this way of travelling was not of the most luxurious sort. However, we made the most of it. The country surrounding St. Paul's is very beautiful, and contains many handsome villas. We soon passed the Falls of St. Anthony, and rode through the rising town of the same name.[15] On every side were saw mills, factories, and other such like contrivances, for which Brother Jonathan has a great "hankering" somehow.

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[10] This was the bishop's new rectory on Sixth Street, a residence so elaborate that it drew some criticism. For a biographical sketch of Thomas Langdon Grace, second Bishop of St. Paul, cf. James Michael Reardon, *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of St. Paul* (St. Paul, 1952), Chapter 8.

[11] Oram is here a bit confused. He is referring to the convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph, then located on Bench Street between Cedar and Minnesota Streets. For a history of these nuns in St. Paul, cf. Sister Helen Angela Hurley, *On Good Ground* (Minneapolis, 1951).

[12] The population of St. Paul in 1860 was 10,401.

[13] This was the third cathedral in St. Paul. Located on the corner of St. Peter and Sixth Streets, it was opened for service in 1858 and continued in use until 1914. Oram was correct when he described it as resting upon a rock foundation. A picture of the structure faces page 127 in Reardon, *op. cit.*

[14] The Reverend Augustine Ravoux. For a discussion of this pioneer missionary's contributions cf. Chapter 5 in Reardon, *op. cit.;* also James H. Moynihan, *Life of Archbishop Ireland* (New York, 1953), pp. 4, 13, 288, 298; *Dictionary of American Biography,* XV, 398-399.

A few miles further we stopped for the benefit of the inner man—in other words, for dinner. It was the first dinner I was to eat in so novel a manner, and I found it one to which our hungry stomachs did ample justice. A huge fire was made, the pot and kettle were swung, and filled with water which the men had gone for. Meantime the Sisters laid two snow-white cloths on the grass, one for themselves and one for us, while our four Canadian drivers (and good-hearted fellows they were) laid a third for their own use. Soon the steaming potatoes, fried ham, bread, butter, and tea were on the table—I should have said on the table-cloth—and soon might a spectator have seen us "pitchin" into the substantials with as great a gusto as if we had been at Taylor's or Delmonico's.

The frugal repast ended, the dishes washed, and put away, we proceeded on our route. We encamped for the night at a place called Oneka [*sic*], a little village mostly inhabited by "folks from down East."[16] Great as had been our sensations in dining for the first time in the woods, these sensations were considerably increased at the prospect of passing a night out of doors. There was but one tent and that was reserved for the good Sisters; while we, of the more enduring species, extended our weary limbs on buffalo skins which were laid under the carts. As soon as the supper "table" was removed, evening prayer was held, at the close of which the Ave Maris Stella was sung. How sweetly did those Heaven-born notes fall upon the air on that night, and in such a place. Never can I forget the scene. Before retiring, the beloved bishop, seated on the foot of a tree, heard our confessions. A half an hour after we were all stretched on the ground, but not all to sleep. The fear of snakes and frogs kept the Sisters awake, or if they gave them selves up to "Nature's sweet restorer" it was only to dream about the objects of their terrors. For one, my slumber came to an end, when, in turning, I thumped my head against one of the cart wheels, between which the Bishop and I were prostrate. Finally, the night wore away, and as soon as the heralds of the rising sun began to appear, all were astir.

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[15] Father Louis Hennepin, Récollet missionary, explorer, and author, named the falls in 1680 in honor of his patron saint, Anthony of Padua. The village of St. Anthony, adjacent to the falls of the Mississippi River, was incorporated as a city in 1855.

[16] Anoka, located on the Mississippi River on both banks of the Rum River, began as a trading post in 1846. It was a firmly rooted community when Oram visited it.

A portable altar was placed on a flour barrel at the foot of an oak, and while your readers were going to their morning Mass in St. Patrick's or St. Peter's, we were present at the tremendous Sacrifice far away in the woods of Minnesota. Our altar seemed beautiful because of its homeliness, and as we knelt on the green turf, with the clear blue vault of heaven for a canopy, we rejoiced in our communion of Him who at the voice of the pontiff came from Heaven to honor us with His presence; and one would have said, at hearing the gentle playing of the breeze in the leaves of the forest and the melody of the feathered songsters, that even Nature came to do homage to our God. Four masses succeeded each other on that little altar, and never were celebrants more devout nor attendants more impressed. After breakfast we again set out.

We travelled all day, stopping for dinner, and encamped for the night in the city of Marseilles, a city numbering five or six Canadian families. One good Mr. Vadna made us welcome to his house. We were right glad to have a shelter for the night, as the lowering clouds threatened rain. After supper all the neighbors united for evening prayer. The good people offered us the use of their house for the night. The Bishop accepted the invitation for the Sisters, while we went to the barn and laid our blankets on the hay. The rain soon began to fall in torrents and beat in through the innumerable openings of our place of lodging. Four masses were celebrated the following morning in the parlor of Mr. Vadna. After breakfast we set out, though the rain was falling in torrents, and against the remonstrances of the hospitable Mr. Vadna.[17]

As our wagons were uncovered, we soon enjoyed the pleasure of a shower bath. We travelled all day, stopping at a "Travellers' Home" for dinner, which we paid dearly for, and at nine P. M. we drew up at Luther's Hotel—so called after the proprietors, who, in spite of their name, were estimable people.[18] The sisters took rooms in their establishment; the rest of the party proceeded to a hay-loft situated directly over a stable through which it was necessary to pass. We were soon asleep, nor did we awake till greeted by a serenade from the boarders below us, viz., calves, sheep, horses, cows, turkey-gobblers and roosters. After a hearty breakfast, off we started. Our route lay along the "Father of Waters" and through a rolling prairie, covered with sweet-smelling flowers and strawberries. Nothing is more magnificent than one of those prairies, especially at the rising, or the setting of the sun. Nothing can the eye see but the sky, grass and flowers, with here and there a tiny lake or rivulet, or a wood which has the appearance of an island in the midst of a mighty ocean.

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[17] Neither Marseilles nor Mr. Vadna could be identified.

A few days before our passage through this part of the country the cruel Sioux had terrified the Misses Luther almost to death—they were hunting their eternal enemies, the Chippewas, whom they killed in large numbers, and bore their scalps in triumph. As we were now in hostile territory, we began to fear the blood-thirsty Indians. Every object was no other than a Sioux, of whom we talked not a little, and who even haunted us in our dreams. We encamped that night on the bank of the Mississippi—the Sisters in their tent, we in the open air, with no other tent than the starry sky. We arranged our blankets around the fire which was some distance from our feet, the edge of the lofty bank of the Mississippi being not more than three feet from our heads. In such a position did we lay ourselves down to repose our weary members after a day's jolting, and to dream about Sioux, and bears, and any quantity of terrible things. When we awoke the sun had already arisen, and after breakfast we started once more on our way, with the prospect of reaching Crowwing the same day. At about eleven A. M. we passed Fort Ripley,[19] five or six miles from Crowwing, at which place we arrived in time for dinner.

Crowwing is situated on a branch of the Mississippi, about 140 miles from St. Paul, with which it has connection by stage—the railroad already begun having been postponed; it is quite a village, the inhabitants being a medley of Americans, Canadians, half-breeds and Indians.[20] It possesses a Catholic church. The Pastor, Rev. Mr. Pierce [*sic*], was absent on one of his long expeditions among the Indians.[21] We took possession of his residence. As soon as the good people of the place had wind of our arrival, they came to bid us welcome, and urged upon the Bishop to stay over Sunday, in order that they might have a pontifical Mass for once. They even went so far as to give word to the caravan sent to meet us from Red River to retard its arrival. The Bishop's anxiety to get on did not allow him to make any promises, but he satisfied them by celebrating Pontifical High Mass on Friday, the Feast of the Sacred Heart. On Saturday the eight ox carts which were to take us to Red River arrived with Sister McMullen, the assistant superior of the Grey Nun Community, who had, the year before, been charged with the visiting of the Red River establishment, and who was on her way back to Montreal.[22] Just as we were on the point of departing, your humble servant was overcome by the heat—for the day was excessively warm—and for the first time did I begin to see, by experience, the uncomfortableness of being sick in travelling.

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[18] During the 1850's and 1860's there were many homes and hotels for travelers. The two mentioned by Oram could not be identified.

[19] Fort Ripley, between Little Falls and Crow Wing, was established in 1849 as Fort Gaines. Cf. F. Paul Prucha, "Fort Ripley: The Post and the Military Reservation," in *Minnesota History,* XXVIII (September, 1947), 205-224, and Prucha's *Broadax and Bayonet: Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, passim* (Madison, 1953).

Fortunately, the Government Indian physician, Dr. Wren, was at Crowwing and he very kindly proferred me hospitality till I felt able to rejoin the party.[23] In the state of prostration I was in, the offer was a God send. I accordingly went to his house with an Oblate Father. The Doctor is one of those fine old Southern gentlemen, remarkable for his noble and generous qualities—in a word, a true

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[20] Crow Wing, an early trading post located on the east side of the Mississippi River and opposite the mouth of the Crow Wing River, was a center of Indian trade for the upper country. J. Fletcher Williams, *History of the Upper Mississippi Valley* (Minneapolis, 1881), pp. 637-638.

[21] The Reverend Francis Pierz established a mission at Crow Wing for the Chippewa in 1852. Cf. Sister Grace McDonald, "Father Francis Pierz, Missionary," in *Minnesota History,* X (June, 1929), 107-125; John Seliskar, "The Reverend Francis Pierc, Indian Missionary," in *Acta et Dicta,* III (July, 1911), 66-90, and William P. Furlan, *In Charity Unfeigned. The Life of Father Francis Xavier Pierz* (St. Cloud, 1952).

[22] Sister Forbes McMullen was elected Mother-General of the Grey Nuns in 1844. Cf. P. Duchaussois, *The Grey Nuns in the Far North* (Toronto, 1919), pp. 25, 31, 40; Hurley, *op. cit.,* p. 131; and Sister St. Thomas Aquinas Keefe, *The Congregation of the Grey Nuns, 1737-1910* (Washington, D. C., 1942), pp. 141, 160-164.

[23] For Dr. John V. Wren cf. Philip D. Jordan, *The People's Health* (St. Paul, 1953), p. 223.

American. He and his accomplished lady have been in the Church but six years. Their household was made cheerful by a charming little daughter of seven summers. During the few days we spent under his roof we learned to appreciate the sterling worth of this noble family. The devotion with which they assisted at the Masses celebrated by the Bishop in their parlor was truly edifying. The Doctor's liberality towards the good Sisters, in purchasing with his own money—to the value of several dollars—many articles necessary to comfort, such as mosquito nets, &c., left a very agreeable impression on their minds. I passed two days with this good doctor's family, and, though far from being restored to health, I took leave and joined the caravan.

Here we bade adieu to civilization. For three weeks we were to see nothing but the wilderness. Here also we took leave of the noble Mississippi, which we were to meet no more. It would be an unprofitable and useless task for me to note down the occurrences of each day's journey from Crowwing to Red River. The bad state of my health, which continued the whole way, prevented me from taking copious notes; besides, your readers, who must ere this be tired of my scribbling, will be content with a few general remarks. You are perhaps aware that there are three roads to Red River from St. Paul—two leading through the Sioux country, and the other through that of the Chippewas. The former are much more agreeable, both on account of the fine prairie roads and the absence of rivers, but they are much more dangerous than the one we followed, as the Sioux are very hostile to the whites, whom they not unfrequently plunder and murder. With the exception of ten or eleven days of prairie, we passed the most of our time in the woods.

The roads were abominable—full of stumps and rocks, that upset more than one ox-cart and placed the lives of the occupants in jeopardy. Out of the twenty-three days, but about seven or eight were fair; thunder storms were very frequent, and such thunder I never heard. The mosquitoes were innumerable and pitiless; they respected neither rank, sex, nor age; by day as well as by night they entered our mouths, nostrils, and ears. During the celebration of Mass one of us performed the new and hitherto unheard-of office of mosquito-driver. We found our nets very useful at night, and during the day we all took the veil. We passed some beautiful lakes, full of all kinds of fish.

Indians were very scarce, except at Red Lake, where they came to meet us, dressed in Adam's coat, painted red, and having feathers in their hair.[24] They were armed with guns and knives. One of our men who understood their language, heard them express their intention of plundering us, and they effectually tried to intercept the foremost cart, but our stern and hardy half-breeds kept them at bay. These Indians (Chippewas) are the most degraded of all the tribes of the North, filthy and immoral. Polygamy and the most unnatural crimes exist among them. The missionary has but little chance of success among them, as they have abused so many graces and are given to such enormous vices. Their women do all the work, and are trained as slaves by their men. They are very cruel in war, and whenever they find their enemy, the Sioux, not content with killing him inch by inch, they tear the heart from the body, eat it, and drink their victim's blood. It must be avowed that the Sioux pay them in the same manner, when they have a chance. To give you an idea of their filth: they kill and eat the myriads of vermin with which their heads are full; it is not unusual to see them render each other this service. All the Indians of the North have this disgusting reputation for filth.[25]

Many ludicrous examples might be cited, among others: the Right Rev. Bishop of Red River was on one occasion the guest of an Indian. The frugal repast was already on the table, or rather, on the floor, when the Indian perceived that the Bishop had no knife; running to the corner of the hut, he picked up one lying on the ground, and covered with grease and dirt. Not wishing to present it in that state to the Bishop, he passed it through his hair with the object of cleaning it. Upon the Bishop's demurring to this, he took the end of his nether garment, *vulgo* his shirt, and, having wiped the knife with that novel dish cloth, which had not seen water for months probably, he handed it to the "Manitou man," or the Bishop. But I digress. The rivers were very much swollen, so much so, that we were obliged to cross several of them in boats of skin. The remainder we travelled by staging. In all the difficult parts of the road our conductors showed themselves kind and considerate. Not an oath escaped them; not an unpleasant word escaped them. They carried us on their broad shoulders through many a dangerous place, where it would not have been safe to pass in the carts. We had Mass almost every day. Our religious exercises were as regularly performed as though we were in a convent. I had the honor of occupying the same cart as the venerable Bishop, whose amiability, piety, fatherly care, and simple, unaffected manners rendered him dear to us all. He sang, read, and laughed with the merriest of us, and right merry were we, and who had a better right to be so? Were we not happy in the service of our Master? The good brother Henri, who, after having served seven years in the French army, fought right valiantly in the Crimean war, and received his medal from Queen Victoria, resolved to serve his Eternal Master in the spiritual militia of the Oblates as a lay brother, amused us by the recital of his adventures and by his drollery.[26] On the 4th of April I was with my friends in New York, and the further away from the sweet associations of my youth, the greater did I feel my love of country, and the more profound was my conviction that the United States of North America are destined to rule the destinies of the world. I thought of the days of my youth, when I loved to show my attachment to country and sport by firing off squibs, crackers, and wooden guns. I wished to be able to transport myself, if but for the occasion, to the Empire City, and there join in with my friends; but as this was impossible I was forced to content my patriotic feelings by defending the institutions of my country against the attacks of my companions, who, while admiring Americans individually, did not seem to admit the feasibility of our Republican institutions, which they thought homogeneous with those which European radicals wished to foist upon the nations of the Old World. I forgot to say that on the 24th of June, the festival of St. John the Baptist, the Patron Saint of the Canadians, the Bishop baptized several Indian children whom we met on the road, with their parents, who were nominal Catholics.

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[24] Red Lake in 1860 was located in Polk and Pembina Counties. It appeared on French maps of the eighteenth century and was so named because of the lake's color, which on a calm, summer evening is of a wine cast. Minnesota Historical Society, *Collections,* XVII (St. Paul, 1920), 445.

[25] Oram, like many another traveler, is not always correct when describing Indian customs and habits. A corrective is N. H. Winchell (Ed.), *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1911).

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[26] Henri Godard. For an example of his "drollery," cf. Grouard, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 7.

[LETTER 2]

[No place or date]

On the morning of the 8th July we descried moving objects in the distance coming directly towards us. What could they be? Some thought they were buffalos, some travellers, while others whispered the awful word Sioux. On they came, and in a few minutes they were with us. The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Red River had sent a courier to meet us, and he had come with the postmen. The Bishop and fathers immediately wrote letters in answer to those which the courier had brought, and which the latter took back with all speed. The next day we reached the 49th degree of north latitude, which separates Minnesota from British North America. At this place is Pembina, an American village, with a fort and a Catholic church.[27] Grateful to our eyes did the appearance of houses and other marks of civilization seem. Our entrance into Pembina was celebrated by all the dogs in the place, who, to the number of at least one hundred, bow-wowed us a welcome, in right dogish [*sic*] style. You may then imagine that we did not long stop to enjoy their music. Red River was only 65 miles distant, and we were anxious to get there as fast as possible. Two more days of ox-carting and our journey would be ended. Houses began to appear now and then as we left Pembina. On the morrow of our second encampment the bishop, accompanied by a father, thinking the oxen not sufficiently go-ahead, undertook to "foot" the rest of the way, believing themselves nearer St. Norbert—the first parish of the diocese of Red River—than they really were. As we approached the end of our voyage, the men dressed themselves in their best, having reserved their reddest shirts and cleanest pants for their entrance into the place they had left forty days previous. We exchanged our well used and torn cassocks for more presentable ones, and performed sundry operations which circumstances required—such as washing, shaving, tonsuring, &c.—in order not to be mistaken for "wild injuns." At 7 o'clock, P. M., the good Father Lestane came to bid us welcome.[28] We were then about a mile from the Church of St. Norbert.[29] There we found the Rt. Rev. Bishop Zaché [*sic*], the titulary of Red River, who had come to meet us.[30] The manner in which he received us was as honorable to him as it was agreeable to us. We all passed the night with the parish priest of the place. We found the beds quite luxurious in comparison with the blankets and skins which had taken their place for the last month. There is an establishment of Grey Sisters at St. Norbert. They take charge of the school and parsonage.[31] No sooner had we breakfast, than the rattling of carriage wheels was heard in the road. The people of Red River had turned out *en masse* to meet us and to conduct us to St. Boniface.[32] We accordingly sent the homely ox carts with our baggage ahead, and took our seats in the more stately conveyances called buggies. We were not long in spanning the nine miles which lay between us and St. Boniface. As soon as we approached in sight of the cathedral towers the bells began to ring a merry peal, and the cannon of the fort thundered out a welcome.[33] Arrived in front of the cathedral door, we alighted, and proceeding up the aisle, we donned the cotta, the two bishops arrayed themselves in full pontificals; and there before the high altar, resplendent with burning tapers and flowers, the titular intoned the *Te Deum;* the sweet voices of the children of the Brothers' schools continued the beautiful hymn in strains so touching and melodious, that not an eye was dry in that edifice. For my part, I was obliged to give vent to my emotions in a flood of tears.[34]

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[27] In 1860, Pembina was a county in northwestern Minnesota; the town, long an important trading establishment on the Red River, was noted and described by many travelers. In 1861, Bishop Grace and Father Ravoux visited there. For background and account of missions, cf. Clarence W. Rife, "Norman W. Kittson, A Fur Trader at Pembina," in *Minnesota History,* VI (September, 1925), 225-252, and Par une soeur de la Providence, *Le Père Lacombe* (Montreal, 1916), Chapter 4.

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[28] Father J. M. J. Lestanc. "Le 19 Octobre [1855] fut un jour de joie pour le Supérieur de la maison de Saint-Boniface: il recevait à bras et à coeur ouverts l'excellent P. J.-M.-J. Lestanc, l'un de ceux que la Providence à envoyés dan ce pays pour y faire le plus de bien, et y donner les plus beaux exemples de vertu." Taché, *op cit.*, p. 74; also Katherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe: The Black-Robe Warrior* (New York, 1914), pp. 440, 451; Benoit, *op. cit.*, I, 339.

[29] "Nous venons de nommer *Saint-Norbert*, l'ancienne mission de la rivière Sale, à trois lieues de Saint-Boniface. On peut fixer la fondation définitive de cette paroisse, à l'époque où nous sommes, à la fin de l'année 1857. Jusqu'alors, son èglise avait été desservie par un prêtre envoyé chaque mois de Saint-Boniface. A la fin de 1857, Mgr. Taché y plaça le P. Lestanc pour y résider continuellement, et lui adjoignit pour l'hiver le P. Eynard et le F. Kearney, que nous verrons partir ailleurs pendant suivant." Benoit, *op. cit.*, I, 365-366.

[30] Bishop Alexander Taché (1823-1894) is so well known to historians of the Catholic Church in western Canada that no further details are required here. An adequate biography is, as indicated in previous notes, the two volumes prepared by Benoit.

[31] "Une année plus tard, le 29 décembre, 1858, Mgr. Taché conduisit lui-même à Saint-Norbert deux Soeurs Grises, les Soeurs Laurent et Dandurand, pour y tenir l'école." Benoit, *op. cit.*, I, 409.

[32] No doubt a good crowd gathered to greet the party, but the entire population numbered only about 1,500.

[33] The reception was even more enthusiastic than Oram indicated, for, at a distance from St. Boniface, "les cavaliers métis déchargèrent une vigoureuse et joyeuse fusillade à laquelle le canon de l'hon." Benoit, *op. cit.*, I, 409.

The *Te Deum* finished, there was a solemn Benedictation of the Blessed Sacrament. After these touching services were over came the greeting, which was so cordial and sincere that from the first we felt that St. Boniface was our home. During the week following our arrival the people of the country came from miles around to make our acquaintance. I do not remember to have slept so much as in that week, for once at a stand still I began to feel the effects of the journey in good earnest. This was the case with the others, but more so with me, as I had been indisposed since we left Crowwing, and had not eaten the weight of a pound in a fortnight. After a week or ten days' rest I began to feel somewhat more like myself. On the Sunday after our arrival Bishop Grandin officiated at Pontificial High Mass, in the presence of the Rt. Rev. Titular Bishop, who was also in full pontificals. Never did I witness a grander sight, especially towards the end of Mass, when both the Pontiffs of God entoned the solemn *Sit nomen Domini Benedictum,* and gave conjointly the episcopal blessing. During the Mass both Bishops preached, the Rt. Rev. Coadjutor Bishop from the altar and the Rt. Rev. Bishop Zaché from the throne. The discourses of both were replete with eloquence, humility, and edification. Bishop Grandin chanted solemn pontifical vespers in the afternoon, and presided at the Benediction in the evening. The singing of the children at St. Boniface's cathedral is excellent and would do credit to any choir, whether European or American. There are two choirs—one seated within the sanctuary, under the direction of a Rev. Oblate Father, and the other, consisting of the young ladies of the convent, under one of the Sisters, who touches the harmonium right gracefully. They occupy the upper gallery. The cathedral of St. Boniface is built of stone. It has two tall towers, one of which contains as sweet a chime of bells as I ever heard. The ceiling is arched and painted blue, with flowers painted along the edges. There are three very pretty altars. At the Gospel side of the grand altar is the monument of Monseignor Provencher, the predecessor of the present Bishop.[35] He was the first missionary and the first Bishop of St. Boniface. He died in 1853. It was he who built the cathedral. Your readers may "guess" the immense outlays of money required in the construction of such a building in such a remote place, when I state the fact, that every pane of glass cost upwards of three English shillings at the time the edifice was being erected. On the 22d July the Rt. Rev. Bishop Zaché proceeded to the parish of White Horse Plains, eighteen miles distant, to confer upon me the sacred Order of Sub-deaconship, for I was but in the minor orders when I left Montreal.[36] The happiness I felt on this occasion was inexpressible, and as I lay prostrate on the sanctuary floor, and consecrated my whole being to Him who ten years previous had called me to His Holy Church, I felt that my lot was more enviable than that of princes. I reverted in mind to my dear friends in New York, and was not forgetful of them on the solemn occasion. White Horse Plains is a parish of considerable extent, under the care of the venerable Mr. Thibaule [*sic*], who has whitened prematurely in his Master's service.[37] On the Sunday following I received the Holy

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[34] Both the exterior and the interior of the cathedral are described in Benoit (I, 381). An equally interesting description appears in: Canada, Provincial Secretary's Office, *Report on the Exploration of the Country Between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement* (Toronto, 1858), "By far the most imposing ecclesiastical building in the settlement is the Roman Catholic Church of St. Boniface, near Fort Garry. The external appearance is neither pleasing nor tasteful, although at a distance the two tinned spires glittering in the sunlight give an imposing appearance to the building. . . . The internal decorations of St. Boniface, for so remote a region, are very striking. . . . Two or three very sweet toned bells ring at matins and vespers, and to a stranger just arrived from a long journey through unpeopled wastes, no sight or sound in Red River creates such surprise and melancholy pleasure as the sweet tones of the bells of St. Boniface, breaking the stillness of the morning or evening air" (p. 336).

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[35] Bishop Joseph-Norbert Provencher (1787-1853). For details of his missionary labors cf. the many references in the works already cited by Benoit, Taché, and Morice. A useful reference volume is Jean Baptiste Arthur Allaire, *Dictionnaire Biographique du Clergé Canadien-Français.* 2 vols. (Montreal, 1910).

[36] Actually this was the parish of St.-François-Xavier located on the prairie of Cheval-Blanc. The parish comprised about 1,200 souls, "qui résident habituellement, sans compter quelques centaines de chasseurs qui passent l'année dans les prairies, mais viennent à certaines époques dans les limites de la colonie." Benoit, *op. cit.,* I, 381.

[37] Father John Baptiste Thibault began his missionary work in 1833; in 1845, Father Pierre-Jean de Smet at Fort Edmonton sent Thibault to Christianize the Blackfeet.

Order of Deaconship in St. Boniface's cathedral, at the hands of the same Rt. Rev. Prelate. Bishop Grandin had expected to impose his hands upon me on the occasion, but he was unable to hold the ordination on account of sickness.

On the day following he left Red River, sick as he was, to continue his journey to Ile à La Crosse—a thousand miles to the northwest.[38] In vain did the beloved Bishop Zaché urge upon him to prolong his stay till his health was improved; in vain did he offer to take his place for a few months; but one thought pressed the zealous Coadjutor to leave—duty and affection for the people of his charge.[39] It was on Monday that the long barge which was to take him to his destination stood by the shore in front of the Cathedral. A Father Oblate, a lay Brother, and three Sisters, were to accompany him.[40] Hot were the tears that moistened the eyes of the good Bishop, as he gave us for the last time his blessing. To me, who had experienced in an especial manner the goodness of his parental heart, the separation was cruel. The good Sisters, though strong in will and unwavering in purpose, had to yield to the bent of their feelings, and weep as they stepped into the boat which was to carry them so far from their dear Sisters, whom they were never to see more. Long did we gaze upon that receding barque, and many were the prayers we offered for the hardy travellers. The Father who accompanied the Bishop is destined for the great Slave Lake, which he will not leave before next spring.[41] Ile à La Crosse is reached by water; it is two months' journey from here. I forgot to state that on the Tuesday preceding Bishop Grandin another Oblate Father and a lay Brother, left for Lake St. Ann mission—about two months's travel in barges.[42]

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[38] L'Ile à Crosse was, indeed, a wilderness mission. It lay on the upper waters of the Churchill River near the site of a trading post built by Thomas Frobisher in 1776. Later forts were constructed by both the Hudson's Bay and North-West companies. The place was visited for the first time by missionaries in 1845 when Thibault arrived to care for the spiritual needs of some 300 natives. To reach Il-á-la-Crosse from St. Boniface one passed through Lakes Winnipeg, Bourbon, Cumberland, des Bois; utilized the Portage La Grenouille near Fort del Traité; and then followed the Rivière aux Anglais to Lac du Genou and on into Lac à La Crosse. An excellent map of this water route is found in Benoit, I, facing p. 610. Cf. also an ecclesiastical map of western Canada in P. Dychaussois, *Mid Snow and Ice: The Apostles of the North-West* (London, 1923), facing p. 328.

[39] For Taché's pleas, cf. Benoit, *op. cit.,* I, 410-411.

[40] Although Oram does not name the members of Grandin's party, Taché does: ". . . le P. Séguin, qui, digne émule du P. Grollier, passera sa vie à évangéliser les sauvages de l'extrême nord, le F. Boisramé, l'un des plus précieux auxiliaires des missions, avec trois Soeurs destinées à fonder un couvent à l'Ile-à-Crosse, les Soeurs Agnès, supérieure, Pepin, et Boucher." Benoit, *op. cit.,* I, 411.

On the Wednesday following was held the examination of the Academy of the Brothers, and on Thursday that of the Sisters at the convent. Both examinations were in every way satisfactory, and forced all Protestants, as well as Catholics, to acknowledge the superiority of these two Catholic institutions. In the boys' academy the good Brothers had trained their pupils in all the useful branches, and given a deserved prominence to religious instruction; the girls displayed their proficiency in not only the useful but also in the ornamental branches, such as music, drawing, and embroidery. Their singing was sweet, indeed, so much so, that the editor of our paper here, a decided Protestant, was led to believe himself in a large town instead of Red River. Besides the recitation of lessons, &c., there were several little dramas performed very cleverly. The convent is a short distance from the Bishop's residence. It is the largest and the finest building in the place. It serves for a boarding and a day school, an orphan asylum, and a place of retreat for the aged and infirm. It is surrounded by a large and beautiful garden in which flowers of every description, even dahlias (which reach in one season the height of seven feet) are cultivated. There are eight or ten Sisters employed in the institution. One is a regular Doctor, and has all the practice of the country. On the other side, and about as far from the church, is the academy. It is a plain building, capable of accommadating [*sic*] fifty or sixty boarders. The pupils take their meals in the episcopal residence. One of the Oblate Fathers has charge of the French department; your humble servant 'does up' the English part of it.[43] The pupils are all very promising, and are much more docile than school boys generally have a reputation for being. So our task is very easy. The Bishop has the welfare of the academy much at heart, and is ready to make still greater sacrifices than he has done. The good Brothers left the day after the examination, being recalled by their Superior-General. It was a week last Monday that the academy and convent opened.[44]

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[41] Great Slave Lake lay between Athabaska Lake and Great Bear Lake. It was discovered by Samuel Hearne in 1771.

[42] La mission du lac Sainte-Anne was located about fifty miles west of Fort Edmonton in Saskatchewan. The Oblate to whom Oram refers was Father Caër.

[43] "Le P. Le Floch fut nommé directeur et maître principal du college et eut M. Oram pour maître adjoint; celui-ci était spécialement chargé de l'enseignement de l'anglais." Benoit, *op. cit.,* I, 419.

The Sunday previous the Rt. Rev. Bishop Zaché promoted me to the exalted dignity of the Priesthood. The ceremony was very imposing, and was witnessed by many Protestants. On the following day I ascended the altar for the first time, with sentiments and emotions which my pen cannot describe. Ten years ago I was outside of the glorious Church of which I am now an anointed minister. Each day, as I hold the Victim of Salvation in my hands—in thanking our dear Lord for so many graces—I am not unmindful of those, who, in former years, instructed me in the way of life. Their memory shall go with me to the grave, and when the scenes of life are past, may we all be united in a better world. An infirmity to which I have been sub-ject [*sic*] from the early age of four, made me fear that I could never succeed in my calling; but the immortal and holy Pontiff Pius IX. has been pleased to grant me the Papal dispensation required in the case.[45]

Now, a few words upon the place and its inhabitants, and then I shall have done, and your readers will have some rest. Red River is a place numbering from 5,000 to 6,000 souls, comprising Americans, English, Irish, Canadians, Scotch, half breeds, and Indians. It is neither a city nor a village, but a settlement. The population is scattered. It is denominated Fort Garry on the map, and is about twenty miles from Lake Winnipeg.[46] It contains, besides the cathedral, five or six Protestant churches (all episcopal but one which is a free kirk). It is the seat of one of the Queen's Bishops.[47] The cathedral stands on the road skirting the Red River, just at its juncture with the *Cassinl Poine*. On the other side of the river is the Hudson Bay Company's fort, which is garrisoned by some 200 soldiers. The Catholic population is very numerous. I have charge of the English speaking Catholics, among whom are from sixty to seventy soldiers and one officer. St. Boniface is the name given by the Holy See to this extensive diocese, which extends to the Frozen Ocean on the one hand and the Rocky Mountains on the other. There are but sixteen Priests for all this territory—but two are Secular, the rest being Oblates. The mission is kept up by the resources furnished by the Propagation of the Faith, without which it could not exist. The place can boast of a monthly newspaper,[48] several mills, and a steamboat—the Anson Northup, which you will see described in *Harper's Magazine* for August.[49] Communication is carried on with St. Paul by overland caravans in summer, and when the water is not too low, the steamer goes to Georgetown, whence access is had to St. Paul in about eight days, thus shortening the route considerably. In winter travellers use sleds drawn by dogs. We have the mail monthly. Wheat, corn, barley, oats, and potatoes are raised in abundance, but fruit, with the exception of melons, is unknown. Vegetation is very rapid. The summer very short and winter very long, lasting from seven to eight months. The place is very healthy. There is little or no sickness, consequently a poor place for doctors. The government of the country is in the hands of the Hudson Bay Company. Every thing is done in a quiet way, without any of the squabbling, quibbling, bragging, fighting oratory of angry politicians. The half breeds are a fine swarthy set of people, and worth their weight in gold for honesty. No one here thinks of locking doors at night. The running of the steamboat and the continued influx of Americans portends much for the place in a material point of view, not, it is to be hoped, at the expense of religion.

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[44] The Christian Brothers came to Red River in 1854, but "leur supérieur ne comprit pas le pays, se butta contre des difficultés toutes ordinaires, se découragea et partagea son découragement à ses confrères." The group left on July 27, 1860. Benoit, *op. cit.*, I, 419.

[45] An old parishioner of the Church of the Assumption, Hackettstown, New Jersey, says that the cause of Oram's injury was a fall from a horse which resulted in one leg being shorter than the other. Father Joseph P. Sergel, Hackettstown, to Monsignor James J. Hogan, Trenton, September 10, 1959; Hogan to the author, September 16, 1959.

[46] Fort Garry, built in 1821 after the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, was named in honor of Nicholas Garry, director of the company. In 1835 a new fort replaced the old. The Council of Assiniboia met at the fort from 1835 to 1869.

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[47] The Reverend David Anderson came to the Red River country in 1849 as Bishop of Rupert's Land and remained until 1864 when he returned to England.

[48] The *Nor'Wester* was established in 1859 by William Buckingham and William Coldwell, who brought a press with them from Toronto and purchased type from St. Paul. Publication was discontinued in 1872.

[49] Manton [M.] Marble, "To Red River and Beyond," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* XXI (August, 1860), 289-311; a drawing and a brief history of the steamer appear on p. 307. Marble, who at times followed the same route as did Oram, was a staff member of the New York *Evening Post,* and in 1862 he became owner and editor of the New York *World. Dictionary of American Biography,* XII, 267.

But enough for one letter. I send it to you, almost fearful that its great length will be a bar to its publication. I have not time to alter it, and not knowing what will be its fate when once in your office—whether it will be thrown in the basket or inserted in your valuable columns, to tire or interest your reader as the case may be, I send it [to] you as it is.

Hoping to see some of my old New York friends out in this part of the world before long, and wishing your journal a long career of usefulness to our common religion, and profit, as well as happiness to its distinguished editor and readers, I beg leave to remain, with respect, yours truly in Christ.

W. H. O.

[LETTER 3]

Red River, St. Boniface, Hudson Bay
Territory, via St. Paul, Minnesota,
June 27, 1861.

Dear Sir: The kind reception you have given to my preceding letters, by allowing them an honorable place and mention in your columns, encourage me in my desire to be interesting to my dear friends in New York, who are still bound to me by the indissoluble golden chains of affection, and whose memory is as underlying as the inner principle which thinks, wills, and projects. I say that I wish to interest my personal friends in New York, who, though too numerous for me to write to them all personally, yet, by their numberless acts of kindness and affection in bygone days, have acquired a right to my grateful love, which comprises the right of hearing of my joys and sorrows, of my pleasant and painful moments, of my acts and deeds, and so on to the end of the chapter. They will all recognize me in W.H.O. (who?), and, provided, *they* know who it is that writes, all's right, for I am no lover of notoriety, besides I should be ashamed to have my name paraded in full letters at the foot of such incoherently, carelessly, scrawingly [*sic*] written letters, to be laughed at by all the critics in and out of the land. Those who know my signature will not criticize, for they are all my friends; as for the others, I don't care a snap—that is, for their criticisms. But I must not be selfish. I am a Priest, *ergo,* every man is my brother, and every reader of the METROPOLITAN, my dear friend; so I will try and be impartial.

But what shall I say? About what shall I scribble? "Ah, me," as the canny Scotch man said, "I dinna ken." But I must say something whether or no.

Old Hiems, *alias* winter, is just taking his leave here, apparently with a reluctance which is shared by nobody but himself. The earth is innocent of snow, and the river of ice; but we have something worse than either snow or ice—that is, mud, and such mud! In your most amiable letter you say that you are fond of incidents. Well, here is one, and you must have it to give you an idea of *our mud!* The other day I had occasion to transport my individuality from one place to another, and for that purpose employed the respectable and luxurious mode of conveyance called the oxcart. Well, off we started —that is, the driver, Xavier, and W. H. O.—and by dint of "ge howling" (is that word in Webster?) beating, &c., we got along—not very fast, for this is not a *fast* country, you know. Suddenly, we came to a stand still, and neither by threats, shouts, nor blows could Mr. Ox be got to "budge." He was evidently opposed on principle to the "coercion" doctrine. So, what was to be done? To stand still was to enjoy a shower bath longer than was desirable, and, besides a stand-still policy will never do for a fast, go ahead son of Uncle Sam, and so I concluded to leave my Xavier to coerce the indocile ox, and to "foot it." But man proposes. I had not taken three steps before I sank up to—never mind—far enough in all conscience—in the mud, and in all my endeavors to extricate myself from the sad predicament I was in, I lost a boot, to which said mud clung closer than a brother.

Winter is gone; for six long months had it reigned supreme; but now it is past, and spring is at hand. Winter is unquestionably the most pleasant season here; certainly it is the healthiest. The cold, though intense—sometimes sinking the mercury to 45 deg.,—is dry; and then the facilities for travelling are so much greater. The summers here are as warm as the winters are cold, and bring any quantity of nasty, disagreeable mosquitoes.

Your readers have undoubtedly been made aware of the burning of our beautiful cathedral on the 20th December last.[50] The dire catastrophe, as I stated in my letter[51] announcing the sad casualty, happened during the absence of our beloved Bishop Taché, who was at the time on a pastoral visit to the far distant North. He came home in the beginning of March, when he saw, with a heart rent with grief—as you may well imagine—the ruins of his cathedral and palace. On arriving, he went to pray amid the ruins of the noble pile, on the tomb of his venerable and sainted predecessor, to ask of God the grace to bear his sad trial with resignation. The solid Christian piety of the beloved Prelate was evident in the words he used on the sorrowful occasion: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord." Solemn Benediction immediately followed in the convent chapel, which the good Grey Nuns with their wonted *savoir faire,* had decorated charmingly for the occasion. We felt more reconciled to our loss in the restoration of our dearly beloved pastor, whose humor, ever even and mirthful, did everything possible for our consolation, and with his enterprising spirit (He is a *true American* for that) immediately set about devising plans for the reconstruction of the church. He intends going to Canada this summer, to appeal to the generous Catholics of that faithful country. The next day after his arrival he gave us an account of his journey, which was one replete with interesting and thrilling incidents. For upwards of seventy nights did he sleep in the dreary wilderness on the snow, with no covering but the starry or cloudy (as the case might be) heavens, with no one but his faithful Indian guide. He travelled by means of large dog sleds. The dangers of dying in the midst of a vast prairie, in those awful snow drifts—which are of very frequent occurrence—did not appal the devoted apostle. Onward—he must see his far distant children of the woods, to rejoice and encourage them—this it was that strengthened his heart, and even made his fatigue sweet to him. Everywhere did he find his devoted Missionaries faithful to their post, and indefatigable in their untiring efforts to prepare these untutored Indians for heaven. On another occasion I will send you an elaborate detailed account of the good Bishop's voyage, and the different missions which are scattered over this immense diocese, extending, as you know, to the Arctic Sea, on the one hand, and to the Rocky Mountains, on the other.[52] For the present I will content myself with sending a list of the Missionaries of the diocese, which we would like to see published in the "Catholic Almanac." You will see that the laborers are but few, though the field is large, and the harvest white. May the Lord send true Apostles to this vineyard! None others need think of coming, for none but the true apostle can bear the fatigues of these missions. When at Ile à la Crosse mission (a thousand miles north), Bishop Taché wrote a most touching address to Our Holy Father, the Pope, and had it signed by the greater part of the clergy. He sent the letter from this place soon after his arrival, and accompanied it with a donation of $100, which sum, under the present circumstances, is most generous on the part of our beloved Bishop. But it is late, and I have all my office to recite, so I will "wind up," as we used to say at "home" "down East." Wishing you all a good night, pleasant dreams, and much joy,

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[50] Oram is incorrect in his date, for the cathedral burned on December 14, 1860. Cf. Benoit, *op. cit.,* I, 445-447, for a complete account.

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[51] This alludes to a letter from Oram, telling of the fire, to the New York *Metropolitan Record,* but which was not published. On January 26, 1861, however, the *Metropolitan Record* printed a letter, written December 10, 1860, by Oram to Bishop Grace of St. Paul, telling of an accident, on November 15, 1860, to Father M. Goiffon whose feet were frozen during a blizzard near Pembina and who was taken to St. Boniface by Joel Rolette, where amputation was performed. Cf. the citation for N. 50.

I remain,

Yours affectionately,

W. H. O.

Clergy of the Diocese of St. Boniface[53]

Right Rev. Alex. Taché, D. D., Bishop of St. Boniface.

Right Rev. Vital Grandin, D. D., Bishop of Satala,
Coad. of St. Boniface, O. M. J.

Very Rev. Jean Baptiste Thibalt [Thibault], Vicar-General.

Colony of Settlement of Red River

Revs. J. J. M. Lestane [Lestanc], O. M. J.
" J. M. Letloch [Lefloch], O. M. J.
" Laurent Sinnonet [Simonett], O. M. J.

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[52] If Oram ever wrote this letter, it was not published in the *Metropolitan Record.*

[53] Misspelling of names has been corrected in square brackets. The dates and places of death of Oblates are given in Leonis Deschâtelets, *Necrologium Patrum et Fratum Congregationis Missionariorum Oblatorum B. Mariae Immaculatae Usque in Hanc Diem in Domino Defunctorum Anno 1958 Legendum* (Rome, 1959).

" Celestin Frain, O. M. J.
" Charles Mestre, O. M. J.
" W. H. Oram, Priest
Brother Jean, O. M. J.
Rev. Il. Easté, Novice, O. M. J.
Brother Henry, " "

English River

Rev. T. Vegréville, O. M. J.
" J. Moulin, O. M. J.
Brother [Louis] Dubé, O. M. J.

Sackatchawan [*sic*] District

Rev. Albert Lacombe, O. M. J.
" R. Rémas, O. M. J.
" P. M. Caer, O. M. J.
" Aug. Maisonnenne [Maissonneuve], O. M. J.
" John Tissot, O. M. J.
Brother Sallas [Sallase], O. M. J.
" Bows [Bowes], O. M. J.

District of Athabaska

Rev. Henry Farraud [Faraud], O. M. J.
" J. M. Clut, O. M. J.
Brother Alexis Rhénard [Raynard], O. M. J.
" Perréand [Perréard], O. M. J.

McKenzie River

Rev. Henry Grallier [Grollier], O. M. J.
" G. Eynard, O. M. J.
" John Séquin, O. M. J.
" Hector Gascom [Gascon], O. M. J.
Brother Karney, O. M. J.
" Ludwig Boisramé, O. M. J.
There are twenty-six Grey Nuns in the diocese.

NOTATIONS OF CARDINAL GIBBONS ON THE CONCLAVE OF 1914

By

John Quentin Feller, Jr.*

In the summer of 1956, while helping out with the sacristan's duties at the old cathedral in Baltimore, it was the writer's good fortune to uncover an *ordo* for the year 1914 which belonged to James Cardinal Gibbons.[1] The importance of this "find" lay in the entries written therein by the cardinal, the main portion of which had to do with his trip to Rome in 1914 for the conclave that elected Pope Benedict XV, and the two audiences which he had of the pontiff following the latter's election. On the previous May 5, 1914, Gibbons had sailed for Europe to make his *ad limina* visit to the Holy See. During the cardinal's final audience with Pope Pius X, which Gibbons carefully records in his *ordo,* the pontiff had sadly remarked:

> You are going home.
> I remain in complete exile fr. beloved Venice.

To this expression "in complete exile," Gibbons wrote the following of himself:

> If I felt homesick by short sojourn abroad, how wd. I feel if my exile like Pope's were permanent?

He concluded his notation on the audience by describing the pope's appearance as one "of sadness" and "face withered."

On July 13, 1914, just ten days before his eightieth birthday, Cardinal Gibbons returned to Baltimore. Six weeks later, on August 20, while vacationing in New Jersey, he learned of the death of Pius X. At first he hesitated about essaying another trip to Rome, not only because of his age, but because of the fact that he had so recently returned from Europe. Father Louis R. Stickney, who was his secretary and who had accompanied the prelate to New Jersey, reminded the cardinal, however, that it was his duty as a Prince of the Church to attend the conclave.[2] Arrangements were quickly made for both of them to join Cardinal O'Connell on board the *Canopic* at New York,[3] and after zig-zagging across the ocean to avoid enemy submarines, they reached Naples on September 3.[4] The following entry was inserted by Gibbons at this point in his *ordo:*

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*John Quentin Feller is an undergraduate student at Loyola College in Baltimore.

[1] The *ordo* has been deposited in the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

> Sept. 3 I arrived in Naples from N. York about 5 AM this 3rd day of Sept.; the Italian Government furnished myself and party with a special car to Rome which was reached at 11:50 AM when the conclave was coming to a close. At 3 PM I went to the Vatican to attend the ceremony of adoration.[5] While I was occupying a room before the ceremony by the courtesy of the Card. Camerlengo,[6] the Holy Father, Benedict XV,[7] learning that I was in the Vatican, kindly sent for me and greeted me most heartily. He promised me an audience on Saturday and expressed his regret that I was too late for the conclave. He is a man of small stature, but bears the reputation of great firmness and solid apo.[8] virtues. He spoke affectionately of Abp. Ireland and I referred to his national influence [in] U.S. as Prelate and Citizen.[9]

Two days later, on Saturday, September 5, the cardinal made the following entry in his *ordo:*

> Sept. 5 Congé audience of H.F. obtained special blessing for diocese.[10]

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[2] The writer had an interview with the late Monsignor Stickney on September 1, 1957, two weeks before the latter's death, at which time this information was given to the writer. In addition, cf. John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* (Milwaukee, 1952), II, 366.

[3] William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, recounts details of the trip in his *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston, 1934), p. 337.

[4] German submarines were already lying in wait for trans-Atlantic steamers to intercept them on the high seas.

[5] "Adoration" refers to the ceremony of obedience which all the cardinals make to the newly elected pope.

[6] The Camerlengo at the time was Francesco de Sales della Volpe (1845-1918).

[7] As Giacomo Cardinal della Chiesa, Archbishop of Bologna, Gibbons had visited him during his spring trip to Rome. Cf. *Ordo—1914* (May 24, 1914), p. 112 facing.

[8] "apo." probably an abbreviation for apostolic.

[9] John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul (1838-1918), had known Monsignor della Chiesa from the time that the latter was associated with Cardinal Rampolla, papal Secretary of State.

[10] The term "congé" is used to describe the farewell audience of Gibbons with Benedict XV.

Then followed an exchange between Pope Benedict and Gibbons which the latter quoted verbatim. He put himself down as opening the conversation:

> Abp. I. ought to be honored.

This statement clearly indicated the cardinal's desire that the Archbishop of St. Paul would soon be honored by the reception of the red hat. To this, the pope was quoted as having answered:

> [We] must be slow so as not to oppose Predec[essor's] policy. You have three cardinals now.[11]

There are two carefully worded objections in Benedict's answer, indicating his reaction to the request. Benedict XV's predecessor, Pius X, had once hinted that Ireland would be created a cardinal, but after the Roosevelt-Storer affair, it would seem that Ireland's name was dropped from further consideration.[12] Cardinal Gibbons, then, in his eagerness to get a more definite answer from the Holy Father, reported himself as suggesting:

> Then at least soon after my death?

The earnestness of the Cardinal of Baltimore appears strongest at this point of the conversation. Nowhere else does his friendship for the Archbishop of St. Paul show forth in a more pronounced way. At this point the pope, perhaps detecting the depth of Gibbons' feeling, promised:

> Oh. Not so late . . .

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[11] The three cardinals referred to were Gibbons, John Farley of New York, and William O'Connell of Boston.

[12] In September of 1903, Mr. Bellamy Storer, Ambassador to Vienna, and his wife were guests of President and Mrs. Roosevelt at Sagamore Hill. Roosevelt requested Mr. Storer as a "personal favor" to ask of the new pope the elevation of Archbishop Ireland to the cardinalate. On December 2, 1903, the message was delivered "viva voce" by the ambassador in an audience. Two years later, a consistory took place on December 13, 1905, at which Ireland was not elevated. Roosevelt was annoyed at the Vatican's rejection of his request, and subsequently denied that he had ever sent any message to the Holy Father. Ambassador Storer was subsequently recalled. For further details, cf. Maria Longworth Storer, *In Memoriam, Bellamy Storer* (Boston, 1923, privately printed), pp. 82-113, and James H. Moynihan, *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland* (New York, 1953), pp. 350-354.

Following this exchange Gibbons' manner of speaking would seem to have changed as he reminds the pope that he might never see him again. The cardinal here mentioned his age and the strains which a trip to Rome exacted of an old man. But Benedict XV reassured him by expressing his own hope that Gibbons would soon return to see him.

Here the discussion about a possible honor for Ireland ended and the pope then turned the conversation to other topics, which Gibbons jotted down as follows:

> [He] Spoke of President W. of his action regarding Mexico.[13]
> Roosevelt—P[ope] regretted how he was treated at Vatican.[14]
> Spoke affec[tionately] of Taft.

Then the cardinal added:

> Gave Pope $5000 additional in gold, on leaving held him by both cheeks & kissed him.

Some time between September 5 and 14, Gibbons wrote an undated entry in his *ordo,* which he entitled, "Tribulations of War." This passage is interesting in that it gives a rather good picture of the excitement which followed the break-up of the conclave.

> Tribulations of War.
>
> Card. Abps. of Paris,[15] Rheims[16] Bordeaux[17] & Montpelier[18] & Malines[19] in efforts to get back to France zig zag. travels. Find cities occupied by hostile troops, effect of war in destruction of life & property.

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[13] Here the pope referred to the persecution of the Church in Mexico. Gibbons' relation to this complex problem is treated at some length in Ellis, *op. cit.,* II, 205-221.

[14] Returning from a hunting trip to Africa in 1910, ex-President Roosevelt went to Rome where it was planned that he would have an audience with Pope Pius X. He had also scheduled an address to a Methodist group in Rome. Requested by the Vatican to cancel the latter engagement, Roosevelt grew angry and dropped his plans for both meetings. *Ibid.,* II, 512-514.

[15] Léo Adolph Cardinal Ammette (1850-1920).

[16] Louis Henri Cardinal Luçon (1842-1930).

[17] Paulinus Pierre Cardinal Andrieu (1849-1935).

[18] François Marie Rovérié de Cabrières (1830-1922).

[19] Désiré Joseph Cardinal Mercier. On June 13, 1914, Gibbons visited Mercier and lunched with him. On the same day Gibbons, by invitation, visited with King Leopold II of Belgium. For context on these two visits, cf., *Ordo—1914,* p. 125.

Card. Bourne . . .[20] N. Orleans priest can't go home. Our citizenship not recognized. 20,000 French priests in army.

On Monday, September 14, Cardinal Gibbons and his party in the company of Cardinal Bourne arrived at Gibraltar. At this point, the English and American cardinals went their separate ways, Gibbons taking the opportunity before continuing on to the United States to make another entry which stated:

Gibralter [*sic*]

Sept. 14 We arrived here. Card. Bourne left us hoping to get a steamer to take him to England. A few moments ago an [*sic*] Frigate arrived here with a German Str. which She had captured on Sea. We are detained here by reason of apprehensions that some German boats are lieing [*sic*] in wait for us. There were about a dozen steamers in the harbor of Gib. belonging to German fleet captured by English cruisers.

From Gibraltar, the cardinal and his secretary, Father Stickney, began the trans-Atlantic voyage. Like the trip over, the return had its dangers, as the prelate recorded in his diary. In a final entry, covering six and a half pages in the *ordo,* Gibbons summed up his impressions of the European sojourn, an entry that was probably written on board the *Canopic.*

Those of us who have spent the months of Aug. & Sept. in Europe can never blot fr. their memory the sad & thrilling scenes they have encountered as a result of the war now devastating many countries of that continent.

Before the war broke out & when no hostilities were expected 1000s of Amer. tourists were scattered over various parts of Europe.

Many went there for the holiday season. Some of them had only as much money as would enable them to defray economically the expenses of the summer months. Among them could be met school girls accompanied by their teachers. When war was declared they found themselves scattered over Switz. Germany, Austria & Italy. Their funds were barely sufficient to pay for return trip; for & in many instances those funds were almost worthless, as only gold wd. be accepted. Few of them could speak the language of the country. The ports of Atlantic & Adriatic were closed to them. The only harbors open to them were those of Italy in the Mediter.

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[20] Francis Cardinal Bourne was the Archbishop of Westminster. On May 26, 1914, he had been the guest of Gibbons at a dinner which the latter had given in Rome for some thirty-seven prelates. Cf. *ibid.,* p. 113 facing.

and even if they had means to convey them to Genoa or Naples they were compelled for long weary weeks to await a str. wh. wd. convey them to Amer. shores.

(The Prest. of U.S. & Secy of State exerted themselves) most earnestly & efficiently in relieving the sufferings & mitigating the hardships of those who were stranded on European soil. The U.S. Gov. placed at the disposal of our Amer. Ambassadors & consuls sums of money to be distributed among American Refugees who had no ready money to convey them home. or whose letters of credit were not honored by Europ. banks.

Too much credit can't be given to Thos. Nelson Page our Amer. Ambassador at Rome & the consuls under him, especially Mr. White the consul at Naples & Capt. Hines of the U. S. Army, specially detailed for relief service. The latter gentleman was detailed to escort from Naples to Boston the str. Canopic with its overcrowded passengers to secure their safe passage & to protect them in the name of our government from any injury on the part of a hostile frigate that would intercept their journey on the high seas.

Mr. Page & his subordinates took a special interest in tourists of Italian origin who had been long residents, & some of them even naturalized citizens of the U. S. Those men after visiting their native country hastened to return to America at the breaking out of the war, but were forbidden to embark as the Italian Authorities still claimed them as subjects of Italy.

Without the interposition of our Ambas. their condition wd. be pitiable indeed, as they were left no choice but to enter the Ital. army, or languish on a foreign soil.

It was the aged prelate's final trip to Rome which he spoke of as the "beautiful city . . . so . . . attractive to a Pagan & Xtian."[21] On September 24, 1914, the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore arrived home.

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 138 and unnumbered pages following.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH

Martin Bucer: Etudes sur la Correspondance I. By J. V. Pollet, O.P. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. xi, 356. Frs. 2,800.)

Bucerian studies are today one of the most active fields of research in Reformation history. The relative inaccessibility of most of Bucer's works, which were available solely in sixteenth-century editions or even only in manuscript (in a very illegible handwriting), left this key figure of the German and also English Reformation for many years in obscurity. Of late, however, it has been recognized that after Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, Bucer is the most interesting and original theological mind of the Protestant Revolt. This interest has been influenced by the eirenical and ecumenical trends of the last few decades, for Bucer was known to have been deeply concerned with matters of church unity. An international group of scholars is now publishing Bucer's complete works, including the correspondence of which only scattered excerpts have been available.

The present volume, while it appears in the same format as the complete works, is not, however, part of that publication. Father Pollet has collected and edited a number (forty-seven) of chiefly hitherto unpublished documents either written by or concerned with Bucer from his early years as a reformer to his last days as a refugee in England. In doing this he desires his work to be considered as a step toward the publication of the complete correspondence. He has achieved his purpose very well. Bucer is seen involved in various controversies mostly concerned with the Eucharistic presence. It is, indeed, the question of the Eucharistic presence which dominates most of these documents. One of Father Pollet's main conclusions is that Bucer was essentially consistent and loyal to his own fundamental beliefs (at least after 1534) and not, consequently, the compromiser he is sometimes accused of being. Basically, as Pollet points out, Bucer had a great talent for adapting himself to the thought of others, without repudiating his own fundamental convictions. His relative success in doing this seems to be due to a certain "adogmatism" typical of the school of the Strassburg reformers, whose intellectual origins with their roots in Rhenish and Erasmian piety one hopes Father Pollet will one day trace. In brief, Father Pollet's tentative conclusion is that Bucer, the former Dominican theologian, was drawn unwillingly into the fray of controversy. Owing to his basic humanistic attitudes, he was essentially indifferent to dogmatic formulations once morality and the basic core of truths necessary to salvation were safeguarded and a communal Christian worship assured. His interests, then, were moral rather than doctrinal. The dogmatic assertions tend to be somewhat vague. In the field of morality Bucer was willing to innovate, e.g., he accepted a number of reasons for divorce. In the field of worship he showed more interest and less conservatism than Luther in his attempt to secure his ideal of a worshipping community, as one can see in the increasingly radical church orders of Strassburg. Yet, the position he took later toward the forms of Anglican worship, shows him as one desirous of concord above all and not as a procurer of Puritanism.

These documents have been edited with great care. Each one is preceded by an extensive introduction which situates it historically. Father Pollet has not deemed it advisable to give a doctrinal criticism of the position of Bucer, but he hopes eventually to come back in a larger work to the problems of Bucerian theology. The volume is handsomely printed with a number of plates of facsimiles and the indices are very complete. An index of authors cited takes the place of a bibliography.

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La Teoría del Regio Vicariato Español en Indias. By Antonio de Egaña, S.J. [Analecta Gregoriana, XCV.] (Roma: Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae. 1958. Pp. xx, 315. $5.00.)

Spanish monarchs were made patrons of the Church in America in virtue of specific concessions and privileges granted by various popes from Alexander VI to Leo X. Simply stated, the theory of the royal vicariate held that since the powers granted by the papacy to the Spanish crown far exceeded those granted a mere patron, a Spanish ruler thereby became a quasi-vicar of the pope, in spite of the monarch's lay status. The late Father Pedro Leturia, S.J., once the present author's mentor, first called attention to the fact that the theory was held by sixteenth-century commentators in Spanish America, and he also pointed out its importance for the understanding of Spanish ecclesiastical administration in America and for Spanish relations with the Holy See. The volume under review is a history of that theory as it affected administration and papal relations from 1493 to 1800.

The first part of the background is the now familiar analysis of the five bulls issued from 1493 to 1519 and pointing out that these continue papal practice dating back to fourteenth-century Portugal. The second part, however, is not well known. This delineates Ferdinand's frustration of all attempts to maintain a vicar apostolic or any other prelate having general jurisdiction in America, and the continuation of the same policy by Charles and Philip II. It is against this background that Franciscan, Augustinian, and Dominican commentators are almost forced to develop the theory after 1559. The original problem was the source of spiritual jurisdiction. Missionaries were dispatched and bishops appointed by the king. Very frequently these had assumed their duties before papal confirmation was secured, much less had note of it arrived in America. From whence, then, did a missionary or bishop derive the jurisdiction exercised before this confirmation? They noted that the five pontifical documents made unusually sweeping concessions: that the full powers had been repeatedly used by the crown without papal protest, even though the practice was known in Rome. Further, the king had commonly been the umpire in disputes over the relation of bishops to exempt religious in their dioceses. To the commentators, only one answer seemed possible: the king must have been made an effective vicar of some sort; but they admitted that they could not explain how spiritual jurisdiction might be conferred by a layman. Up to this point the matter was likely to have little interest, save to some members of the clergy; then the theory suddenly became the basis of action in disputes of wider interest: the transfer of parishes and *doctrinas* from the regular to the secular clergy.

Here the question entered into Spanish-papal relations. Generally speaking, the religious rely on the theory above and beseech the crown to leave the *doctrinas* in their hands while the bishops solicit the transfers directly from the papacy. Though the latter course was more in accord with the legislation of the Council of Trent (which had finished its labors just before the disputes became acute), the bishops were not completely supported by the Holy See. Thus the religious usually vindicated their claims without much real question. Yet these disputes, as is well known, dragged on for more than a century. From 1619 onward Spanish civil administration consciously adopted the theory as a "fact" stating the right of the Spanish crown. After 1622 the Spanish government maintained the position to prevent the newly created Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith from interfering in disputes over the *doctrinas,* or in gaining any share of direction of missionary work in America. Spain was so successful that, when Juan Solórzano Pereira asserted this theory as a formal right in his *Política Indiana,* there was no formal condemnation in Rome. But after 1622 there was some change: Franciscans, Augustinians, and Dominicans tended to question the theory and to favor the Roman position; bishops and Jesuits, generally, now became the most vehement defenders of the theory. When the Bourbons mounted the Spanish throne in 1700, however, Spain's position was maintained as a special exception to general law even by canonists laying down existing legislation for the administration of religious orders. The statements of civil jurists of the eighteenth century hardly require notation here. So it is not surprising that the theory was formally proclaimed as right by Charles III in 1765; and was incorporated in the *Nueva Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias in 1788.* A bit of *curiosa* is added in the account of an appeal to these same ideas by the government of Isabella II in 1854. An appendix provides the expounding of the theory by Alonso de la Vera Cruz (from the Escorial manuscript), and three important documents from the Propaganda archives.

What has been said thus far may give a reader the impression that Father Egaña has done little more than consolidate Leturia's monographs with the *Aportación Extranjera a las Misiones españolas del Patronato regio* of Lázaro de Aspurz (Madrid, 1946). This is not the case. So many new notes and details have been added that the present work is a very useful reference tool for information on a number of individuals whose history had been considered as fully known. It is indispensable for any student who must enter into any of the innumerable disputes over the *doctrinas;* and, of course, basic for a true understanding of the Spanish *Real patronato.* Only two minor criticisms seem to be indicated: first, there are a number of typographical errors; those in the text are of no consequence, but those in the references are notably misleading. Secondly, the author holds so strictly to his topic that he completely fails to note obvious historical incidents which explain his text. However, any informed reader may remedy these defects for himself. The volume remains an excellent treatment of a very important subject.

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Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558. By A. G. Dickens. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. 272. $4.80.)

The fruit of painstaking research, and thorough acquaintance with the primary sources of Tudor Yorkshire, pays rich dividends in this interpretative, perceptive, well-balanced, and scholarly monograph. The important topic of how the Reformation made its initial impacts upon a regional society in mid-Tudor England is investigated in a series of highly illuminating essays which incorporate much of the already published studies of Professor Dickens on "Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York, 1545, and President of the Council of the North," and "The Marian Re-action in the Diocese of York, 1550-1580," in *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte* into a work of considerable note for students of religious and Tudor history. Dickens rightly makes the observation that more patient research into personal, local, and regional history is needed in order to provide historical patterns which bear a true relationship to the development of the English people, shunning, as much as possible, "well worn themes of high policy and central government of monarchs, parliaments, statesmen and theologians."

The author succeeds admirably in making clear: 1) that the spectacular events of 1534-1558 are in reality superficial, since the origins of religious change occurred much earlier, and the really epoch-making developments somewhat later; 2) that the heretics in the Marian courts remained to all appearances neo-Lollards or semi-Lollards rather than recognizable Lutherans or Anglicans. They showed the same old doctrinal emphases; they remained evasive, unheroic, unliterary, and skeptical; scarcely any would have seemed out of place in the ecclesiastical courts thirty years before; 3) whatever its theological continuities, the vitality of Roman Catholicism had to be re-created in its limited sector of English society by the seminarist invasion of the 1570's and 1580's. While the monograph does not demonstrate any startling deviation from many accepted interpretations, the work is of immense value in supporting and pointing up through an impressive array of examples and minutiae, from both clerical and lay populations, the substantial truth of previous generalizations. The careful sifting of York diocesan and civic records, of the archiepiscopal registers, of heresy cases before the King's Council of the North in the Court of Audience or Chancery, and of wills, is a great contribution in itself. Professor Dickens argues that York was by no means atypical of the nation, but in reality was a remarkably varied society, "almost a microcosm of Tudor England" (p. 4). He states, therefore, by implication that what was true for Yorkshire religious history was true for England. To some degree, he manages to substantiate that claim.

In the early sixteenth century Lollardy, not Lutheranism or Calvinism, predominated in cases of heresy persecuted—actually they were mainly abjuration cases, as Lollards had no desire for martyrdom. It was mainly Dutchmen who were tried (1528-1535). As York was fiercely exclusive, Dickens observes that it was natural that Dutch suspects would be reported to authorities more than Englishmen of similar beliefs. In the early years orthodox local opinion envisaged heretics as people who went about cherishing forbidden books. Hence, Dutchmen, books, heresy were all the ingredients of the York trials, e.g., the Freez family (originally de Vries). This is in agreement with the reviewer's own observations in a study of the Lawson family of Yorkshire during Counter-Reformation revival under the early Stuarts. Local mayors and pursuivants were willing enough to seize Flemings, suspected of bringing in contraband literature and relics, but they were loath to implicate their neighbors, the Lawsons, Hodgsons, and friends. Professor Dickens makes the interesting point that Gairdner's *Lollardy and the Reformation* shows less knowledge of ecclesiastical records than might be anticipated, with the result that Gairdner underestimated the share of Lollardy in the English Reformation. In general, Dickens' critical use of the available secondary materials in the bibliography of this period is exceptionally fair-minded, thorough, and competent, including with impartiality the work of Philip Hughes, Canon Smith, Margaret Deansley, to cite but a few of the most obvious.

The most novel research of Professor Dickens lies in his study of the Act Books of the Archbishop's Court of Audience for the period 1536-1543. A detailed examination of the case of William Senes, music master of Rotherham College, of James Hardcastel, a butcher, and of Richard Flynte, revealed the apparently commonly held belief that a man did not need the mediation of a priest to confess himself to God. "If this belief were in fact widely prevalent in north Yorkshire in 1542, a new perspective would be added to the early history of Protestantism, or rather Lollard survival in northern England" (p. 48). Dickens argues, with some cogency, that had no Act Books survived in the Diocese of York for the mid-Tudor period a most distorted image both of heresy, and its repression, would have remained. His study of the cases shows, on the whole, that the punishments of heretics were lenient, and the demonstrable role of the new continental movements upon the religious beliefs of the lower levels of Yorkshire society were very modest, indeed. The North remained throughout, in atmosphere at least, Lollard.

To this reviewer, one of the best, if not original, points that Dickens clearly highlights is that sincerity of religious views does not obviate the strong incentives arising from economic straits, or political ambition, or other complex factors such as family affection, ancestral loyalty, prestige, etc. In this regard his chapter on "Sir Francis Bigod and his Circle" was most enlightening. Bigod remains among the best-documented Englishmen of his status and period, as well as one of the most self-revealing, in a still somewhat inarticulate age, e.g., his letters to Thomas Cromwell. Dickens himself seems more at home here, and occasional glimpses of an urbane, near-dynamic style become apparent through the necessarily tight weave of endless presentation of documented fact, so important if a base is to prove useful for a future solid superstructure of wide, and accurate, interpretation and generalization. Sir Francis was among the most conspicuous agents of the English Reformation. A Cromwellian man, he remained no blind tool, but a convinced and independent doctrinaire (p. 69). Bigod is illuminating as a composite of the gentry, not only of his own time, but of the future Counter-Reformation northern gentry. Though a Protestant, and an agent of royal supremacy, he nevertheless showed himself a regionalist who continued to think in terms of humoring northern particularism. Through his sympathetic re-evaluation of Sir Francis Bigod's role in the Pilgrimage of Grace, Professor Dickens produces an excellent picture of the psychology of that famous event based upon the social structure of the North (pp. 90-91). Far from considering Sir Francis an unbalanced gambler who brought disaster upon the "legitimate" northern leadership, Dickens paints him as the only exponent of *Realpolitik*. Almost alone of the northern gentry, Bigod realized the rebels had dropped their guard too soon. What Bigod lacked was tact, patience, and the power of compromise, says Dickens. He was simply a forerunner of English Puritanism, born before his time and into the wrong setting. One of the book's many incisive and thoroughly satisfactory summations comes in this particular essay: "not without reason might we assimilate him to a familiar type of educated country gentleman: somewhat of a crank; opinionated, testy, pedantic, intelligent, but intellectually angular" (p. 109).

Unfortunately, evidences of Professor Dickens' own particular religious sympathies intrude from time to time in unguarded phrases, notably in his discussion of "custom-ridden" monasticism, despite his admirable efforts to present an objective estimate of the religious attitudes in the North. E.g., in discussing the continued right of sanctuary in churches and its abuse, he concludes that its destruction was "unquestionably a beneficent work" of Henry VIII . . . for it was a "feudal and ecclesiastical barrier which blocked the extension of royal law to all men" (pp. 87-90). In Chapter IV the author presents a rather naïve over-simplification of the problem of the Reformation when he remarks that had the Catholic Church allowed vernacular Bibles and accepted some of Tyndale's positive ideas and approach, such as his emphasis upon Pauline "Love is the fulfillinge of the lawe," papacy and king might have saved a true English version of the Counter-Reformation (p. 135). Awareness of the complexity of forces which brought about the successful Protestant Reformation is, nonetheless, abundantly present throughout.

Dickens does a special service to the study of northern gentry in indicating the frequency with which members of the "old families," e.g., the Constables, known for their staunch adherence to the "old faith" in Counter-Reformation times, were directly, or indirectly, allied with the new Protestant movements in the early sixteenth century. It is significant that the old county stock moved with the changing religious patterns of the times, almost as much as the more mobile middle classes and, in fact, were in the forefront of the new movements. Much of this was the effect of contact with the "New Learning." An interesting examination is made of this through the Plumpton Correspondence and the politico-religious verse of Wilfred Holmes of Huntington. Close study of Yorkshire families, according to Dickens, reveals no really clear picture of conservative religious solidarity, so commonly accepted by historians. Every family, even in the North, had its cross-currents of diversified religious opinions. This is surely the most significant contribution, and interpretation, made by *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York.*

Evidence of considerable dependence upon, and agreement with, the findings of Smith's *Tudor Prelates and Politics* appears in the studies of "Clerical Leadership and Opinion," especially in substantiating the idea that most reforming bishops were not regular clergymen, but university monks who, educated, returned to "their dull provincial habitats as changed men" (p. 139). His conclusions concerning the regular clergy, notably Holgate and Ferrar, are realistic, recognizing that whatever their religious predilections, the secular clergy came to appreciate the hard fact that under Henry VIII little was gained for a career save by becoming a Henrician. Dickens makes too much of the uniqueness of his attack upon the "generally accepted view" of Froude, Dean Kitchen, and Canon Dixon, that the northern convocation of the Province of York was more defiant than that of Canterbury, and that official leaders gave bold, prolonged resistance to Henry VIII. Gairdner had long ago laid that view to rest. Nonetheless, it is a reasoned restatement of the documents, and it settles quite definitively that resistance at the York Convocation was practically limited to the year 1531, and to one man, Cuthbert Tunstall. Far more telling than the small lists of proved reactionaries and proved Protestants among the clergy, who represented only a tiny percentage of the thousand or more priests in the Diocese of York, were the vast majority who, Dickens admits with admirable intellectual honesty, "will be forever inarticulate and silent." Yet it is frequently the "unknown quantity" which proves in the end the most significant factor.

A telling method of testing the general change in atmosphere that had crept over England in the years 1538-1558 was a study of over 700 wills of middle class and gentry. In the Henrician period a definite rise in the number of "non-traditional" (i.e., those who omitted the invocation to the Blessed Virgin and the saints) wills was noted by 1546, although the traditional were still in the ascendancy (p. 172). By 1549 under Edward VI, the number of untraditional wills were greater than the traditional and remained so for the whole reign. An interesting parallel was the order of the York Corporation of 1549 for the Corpus Christi play to be given "excepte the assumpcon of our Lady, coronacion of Our Lady and dieing of our Lady" (p. 235).

Professor Dickens is to be commended warmly for the good sense, moderation, and refreshing honesty of his viewpoints. Not the least among his observations: that though Henry VIII effectively limited the spread of extremism in doctrine, nonetheless it *was* Henry and his policy which allowed the door to open enough for Protestantism to insert a foot, as Henry himself attested in his last speech (a *cri de coeur*) to Parliament.

His point concerning the failure of the Marian Reformation is also well taken: "By 1554 it was nearly forty years since Papal jurisdiction had been effective in England, and twenty years since its legal abolition. Except for well-read and thoughtful conservatives, the Papacy must have receded rather deeply into the mists; it can only have represented not a positive governmental asset, but one more unfamiliar concept to be instilled into the people by a propaganda organization as sketchy and unreliable as that which served the Protestant cause under Edward VI" (p. 212).

This is a work of considerable stature and of careful thought. Though some of its interpretations may be fought about mildly, it is a most welcome addition to the growing monographic literature on sixteenth and seventeenth-century religious history.

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Brooklyn

Commentarii Laurentiani Historici quarto revoluto saeculo ab ortu S. Laurentii Brundusini novi Ecclesiae Doctoris. [Collectanea Franciscana, XXIX (1959), fasc. 2-4. Pp. 133-507.] (Roma: Istituto Storico dei Minori Cappuccini. 1959. Pp. 579. Lire, 3,000.)

On the occasion of the fourth centenary of the birth of St. Lawrence of Brindisi (1559-1619) which coincided with his elevation to the rank of a doctor of the Church, the present jubilee issue of the distinguished *Collectanea Franciscana* has been dedicated to the revival of that great Capuchin's memory. It carries six major and five shorter studies casting light on various aspects of the saint's life and prodigious activity as scholar, diplomat, organizer, crusading hero, and most of all, as the perfect embodiment of traditional Franciscan virtues. Undoubtedly, he was one of the busiest figures of the Catholic Reformation; yet outside his order his name was soon forgotten, chiefly because the bulk of his momentous writings remained in manuscript until 1926. Since then the publication of his literary bequest has been completed in fifteen volumes.

The introductory study by Francisco Spedalieri, S.J. (pp. 145-165) is a brief and rather unpretentious summary of the saint's teaching as a biblical scholar, apologist, orator, and catechist. It is regrettable that the author only praises these works without trying to establish St. Lawrence's place among his contemporaries engaged in similar endeavors. Another essay by Arturo M. da Carmignano di Brenta, O.F.M.Cap. (pp. 166-236) deals with Lawrence as the general of the Caupchin Order (1602-1605). The center of the author's interest is a remarkable tour of visitation that carried Padre Lorenzo across the whole continent of Europe, on foot.

Students of the spirituality of the seventeenth century will find in this article interesting details on a group of Capuchin mystics in Flanders, the *fratelli spirituali.* The third and, from a historical point of view, the most significant study (pp. 237-272) by Franz Xavier von Altötting, O.F.M.Cap., is dedicated to the saint's diplomatic activity in Bavaria (1606-1612) that contributed much to the firm alliance of Catholic powers on the eve of the Thirty Years' War. The fourth and fifth major essays detail their hero's last mission as peacemaker in Naples and his death at Lisbon (pp. 273-361), while the sixth study (pp. 362-428) retraces the long course of the saint's canonization, completed only in 1878. Of the appendix, an article on the problems of Lorenzo's iconography and a bibliography are noteworthy.

The authors—all Capuchins except two—have made an honest effort to assure St. Lawrence's place in history, although in their enthusiasm they often assume the role of panegyrists. The fact that the articles, besides Latin, represent five languages (French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese) attests to the commendable international solidarity of Franciscan scholars, but that fact will scarcely encourage prospective readers on this side of the Atlantic.

LOUIS J. LEKAI

University of Dallas

Los Jesuitas en Colombia. By Juan Manuel Pacheco, S.J. Tomo I, *(1567-1654).* (Bogotà: Editorial San Juan Eudes. 1959. Pp. 622.)

The many studies of the work of the Society of Jesus in the Americas are well known to historians, not only as institutional history but also as excellent sources for social, political, and economic history. The area selected for this work comprises only a part of the ancient and vast province of "El Nuevo Reino de Granada y Quito" which embraced Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Panama, and the Dominican Republic. This study confines itself to the limits of the present Republic of Colombia. In the beginning Father Pacheco reviews the conquest and organization of the area, the work of the religious orders, and the status of the natives to the time of the coming of the Jesuits. He indicates the lack of progress that had been made with the Indians and relates the difficulties of operating efficiently among them because of the situation on the *encomiendas* and the conditions of "personal service." He then sets forth in detail the very difficult problems of obtaining approval for the Jesuits to come to the area and their eventual arrival and permanent beginnings in Cartagena in 1604.

There then follows the particularized study of the development of the society in the area over the next fifty years. The founding of the novitiates and the *colegios* at Honda, Pamplona, Merida, Mompas, Popayan are related with all of their problems and successes. Book three contains an excellent account of the problems related to slavery, of the work of St. Peter Claver, and the work among the Indians in the *doctrinas* and in the *misiones*. Of particular interest here are the descriptions of the methods used to interest and teach the Indians. Book four is devoted exclusively to an examination of the society and its personnel. A separate biographical section is devoted to the provincials. Here the balanced character of this work is manifest, for while the author praises the work of the men and the order, and is quite satisfied with their work, successes, and discipline in these difficult years, he demonstrates with candor the varieties of problems which arose: nationalism, excessive absorption in temporal matters, difficulties with the Inquisition, and clashes with government officials and other orders. In conclusion, attention is given to the founding of the university and to the men of letters. Throughout this first volume Father Pacheco effectively uses the source material collected from archives in Spain, Italy, and northern South America. Many of the accounts developed in the narrative are taken completely from original materials. Throughout, the volume is excellently footnoted, and it contains a lengthy bibliography and index. If the succeeding volumes are as well done as this one, the completed history will be a monumental and noteworthy addition to the history of the Society of Jesus.

MARTIN J. LOWERY

De Paul University

Histoire documentaire de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie-Immaculée dans l'Est du Canada. I^{re} Partie, *De l'arrivée au Canada à la mort du Fondateur (1841-1861),* Tome II. By Gaston Carrière, O.M.I. (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1959. Pp. 344.)

Because of the remarkable contribution that the Oblate Fathers have made during the past century to the spread of the Church in northern and western Canada, it is sometimes popularly assumed that these missionary activities have been their chief contribution to the Canadian Church. Yet it was in central and eastern Canada that they established their first and most permanent foundations. Father Carrière, a member of the staff of the Oblate University of Ottawa, in a series which will undoubtedly comprise several volumes, has undertaken to narrate the history of these early foundations and of the subsequent expansion of the work of the missionaries in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. The first part of the series deals with the first two decades of the Oblates' history after their arrival in Montreal from France in 1841.

In Volume I, which appeared in 1957, Father Carrière describes the arrival of the new missionaries and the work they achieved under the direction of Bishop Bourget of Montreal. Now the author turns to a rather detailed account of the founding of a college in Ottawa (the present-day University of Ottawa), and of their missions among the early settlers in the vicinity of the Ottawa and Saguenay Rivers in Ontario and Quebec. The entire history is set forth clearly and simply. Perhaps, the most interesting section of the present volume deals with the pioneering efforts of the Oblates in higher education, efforts which were eventually rewarded by the successful organization of their college and with it a diocesan seminary. Father Carrière has wisely chosen to provide frequent and, at times, lengthy quotations from the secular and ecclesiastical source material that he employed, thus rendering his study valuable to the general reader and the specialist alike. A bibliography and index will be supplied in the last volume of each part of the series. When the history is completed it will surely be a definitive work on quite an important aspect of the history of Catholicism.

Cyril B. O'Keefe

Saint Mary's University
Halifax

A Light to the Gentiles: The Life Story of the Venerable Francis Libermann. By Adrian L. van Kaam, C.S.Sp. (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University, 1959. Pp. xl, 312. $4.75.)

This life of the famous convert from Judaism who founded the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary is the second of a series of studies on the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. With its really profound insights into the life of a man not unlike St. Paul, its greatest value will be in the field of spiritual biography, but it also fills in the picture of the Church in France in the nineteenth century. As the son of an Alsatian rabbi, Jacob was schooled in the traditions of the Mishnah and the Talmud by his father, but it was from his mother that he learned what was to become later one of his guiding principles in spiritual direction, of allowing souls to do good in their own way. Based on the idea that a man achieves "his full and ideal stature when he realizes in himself as completely as possible the role God assigned him from all eternity," it includes the firm belief that God "has assigned every man his irreplaceable role in history and the more perfectly we unfold the potential that God has placed at the root of our being, the better we serve the ends of Providence" (p. 259).

Libermann's life work of organizing the priests of his society into a zealous and effective missionary group bears study among those who realize the crucial need for the gospel as an elevating factor in the world in which we live. His heroic resolve to continue sending priests to Guinea, even after the tragic failure of the first mission, was decisive not only for his congregation but for western Christianity. Despite calumny, vituperation, and catastrophe Libermann remained resolute as a rock against which resistance to the work crashed but dissipated itself. He was determined to open Africa to Christendom even though centuries of failure seemed to condemn the project to nearly certain ruin. His priests were the first, the author claims, to engage in a systematic evangelization of the country (p. 194). Libermann's role in history was that of a "lonely pioneer who could not envision the impact on history that his heroic endeavors would have, for as yet there was no shadow on the distant horizon of those stalwart groups of men and women from Europe and America who in years to come would fill the ranks of orders, congregations, and lay institutes coming to Africa. . . . He was the first to sound the trumpet that mustered a world force that has since converged on the Dark Continent and made it glow with the light of Christ" (pp. 195-196).

The depth of the venerable priest's insight into the needs of his age can be judged from his own words assessing the reasons for the failure of not a few of the nineteenth century's missionary ventures:

> It has been the misfortune of the clergy in recent times that they hold to ideas out of the past. The world has progressed, the enemy has set up his batteries in line with the situation and spirit of the age, but we have lagged behind. We must keep abreast of the times. With complete fidelity to the Gospel we must do good and combat evil according to the state and temper of the period in which we live. . . . Clinging to olden times and retaining thought patterns that ruled a previous era will destroy the efficacy of our endeavors and enable the enemy to establish a stronghold in the new order. Let us then frankly and simply embrace the new order and breathe into it the spirit of the Gospel (p. 221).

Another instance of the farsightedness of Libermann highlighted by Father van Kaam is the courage with which he engineered the merger of his own congregation with the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, a merger which gave new life to both groups and a strong impetus to missionary enterprise. The union resulted also in a "healthy polarity" and a spirit of adaptation, needed for healthy religious life in any era. A highly commendable feature of this work is the way in which the historical sources are indicated by marginal references. A good variety of photographs, a complete bibliography, and several indices make it a complete, scholarly work. While this is a good study of the Venerable Libermann, we hope to see someday a still more complete life of this remarkable Jewish Christian apostle to the nations.

HERMES KREILKAMP

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AMERICAN CHURCH

The Almost Chosen People. By William J. Wolf. (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1959. Pp. 215. $3.95.)

Mr. Wolf, professor of theology in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, presents in this slim though somewhat repetitious volume his view of religious expression in the life of Lincoln. He points out that "the conflicting evidence on Lincoln's religion is incredibly complex," that it ranges from myth to an irreducible case of facts. For him Lincoln's religion was a "singlehearted integrity in humbly seeking to understand God's will in the affairs of men and his own responsibility therein." Lincoln was "the American Isaiah, or Jeremiah, or St. Paul." Professor Wolf sets himself to show the "development of that religion and its expression in his [Lincoln's] life." What emerges clearly is that Lincoln never accepted any definite creed, that he never became a formal member of any church, and that he was a very religious-minded president. Wolf explains this unusual religious posture by pointing out that Lincoln was a "biblical believer," a "biblical Christian," and thus one whose religion was based on Scripture rather than on any institution or creed of Christianity. Indeed, no other explanation would seem satisfactory. Several facets of Lincoln's life suggest that in his early years he found the Bible more of a literary work than a source of specific religious truths. At the same time his constant perusal of it could not but have helped to form his mind so that as the problems of life, and lastly of the presidency during the Civil War, demanded explanations, almost inevitably he turned to the Bible for answers. In the Old Testament he found the revelation of God's will for the chosen people; there also he found God in history, the God of history. From the Bible as a whole he learned that one did not twist God and His providence to make history, but that one honestly sought God in history as it developed in the events of one's time. In Lincoln's view he was one of God's instruments in the working out of the divine will through the Civil War.

As Lincoln saw it, the divine destiny for America was that it free itself of slavery as a means to advance freedom and democracy over all the earth. Mr. Wolf is concerned to establish a Puritan background for this confidence of Lincoln in America's destiny under God. One may, indeed, agree that among early American Puritans there was talk of liberty for God's elect, but this seems to prove no more than that American Puritans and Lincoln were deeply influenced by the Bible. Wolf himself, by quoting Lincoln, assists in establishing the source of Lincoln's thinking. "That the Almighty does make use of human agencies, and directly intervenes in human affairs, is one of the plainest statements in the Bible." In any case, there seems to be sufficient evidence that the extent and purposes for which democracy was to be enjoyed in the Puritan commonwealth would scarcely have satisfied Lincoln. What was outstanding about Lincoln's religion was not the clarity with which he saw that God required from him conformity with His will as manifested in human affairs, but rather the degree of humility, of sincerity, and of charity that he brought to the performance of his duty to God and to man. This is a point which Professor Wolf well makes, and his exposition of it constitutes the most satisfactory part of his book.

J. Robert Lane

Saint Mary's College
Winona

General Sherman's Son. The Life of Thomas Ewing Sherman, S.J. By Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. 1959. Pp. ix, 276. $4.50.)

Thomas Ewing Sherman, S.J. (1856-1933), the son of General Sherman, was a controversial figure. For years he was estranged from his fellow Jesuits, and in his later years showed a serious lack of mental balance. It is to the credit of his confrère, Father Durkin, therefore, that he has written a serious biography of Father Sherman, even though the latter is fairly recently deceased. On this score equal credit must go to Miss E. Sherman Fitch for placing the E. Sherman Fitch Papers at the disposal of the author. Without these this biography could not have been written. Writing about his subject when he did, Father Durkin was also able to interview contemporaries and thus supplement and help interpret the documentary record.

The story is exceptionally well-written, and is compressed within 240 pages. The reader will have no excuse—and no inclination—to interrupt his reading of this biography. Fellow historians may regret the fact that technical apparatus has been kept to a minimum—and placed in the rear of the book—but one cannot please everybody. Father Durkin has been frank in his evaluations, even about unpleasant aspects of the story. The title of the book (the jacket has also a picture of father and son) is also its theme. The story opens, not with the subject's birth, but with the nine-year-old boy watching his hero father in a military parade. This theme runs through the entire story—Sherman's idealization of his father and of the military character. In the opinion of this reviewer the theme was overemphasized. The author honestly introduces various conjectures with a "would have" or "must have." No doubt many readers will welcome such suggestive, if not necessarily definitive, interpretations rather than an unimaginative narrative of documented events.

The importance of General Sherman and of the Ewing and Sherman families makes a biography of any member a welcome addition to the total picture. Father Durkin has shown, however, that Thomas Ewing deserved a biography for his own contribution, especially in the area of apologetics and preaching. When some continuation of the excellent three-volume *The Jesuits in the Middle United States* (New York, 1938) of the late Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., is produced, Sherman will find his place in the more recent period. A history of the attitudes of Catholics toward Socialism and the social question, and of Catholic-Protestant relations will also include the work of Father Sherman.

ANTHONY H. DEYE

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Faith and Understanding in America. By Gustave Weigel, S.J. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1959. Pp. 170. $3.75.)

Of the nine brief essays in this volume by the well known professor of ecclesiology at Woodstock College, seven had previously appeared in journals such as *Theological Studies,* although they are here somewhat revised. Two essays, "The Catholic Conception of Religious Truth," and "The Role of Religion in American Society," are new. While the essays in general are, as the author says, on seemingly diverse subjects, they have a unifying thread in that they address themselves to "the general problem of faith and world order in current society" (preface). Father Weigel has kept in mind both the non-Catholic and the Catholic reader, and both will derive benefit from what he has to say, e.g., in the first essay on the character and limitations of papal pronouncements and the explanation of what is meant by the troublesome phrase, "development of doctrine." In the discussion of the role of religion in American society, the author has some very sensible things to say about how the present religious complexity of the United States came about, of the purposes of the churches in this country, and of the caution that should be observed regarding the current vogue "to be religious," for as he says, pressure of this kind is urging men "to a good thing for a bad reason" (p. 50).

It is tempting to comment at greater length than space will allow on some of the other ideas in this thoughtful little book, but a few summary remarks must suffice. In an age when Christianity finds itself confronted by what may well prove to be the most dangerous foe it has ever faced, it behooves all men of Christian belief and good will to re-examine the issues which have divided Christians for centuries and, even more seriously, to ponder the means by which the breach can, at least in part, be closed. For any Christian—be he Roman Catholic, Protestant, or Orthodox—the value to be derived from getting to know other Christians in a personal way, to say nothing of deepening his knowledge of their teaching and religious practices, is a gain for the common welfare, and one of its most far reaching results will be a nation that is stronger and better equipped to contend with the forces that now threaten it.

Father Weigel's book comes at an opportune time, for the intellectual climate in this country has seldom been better for an exchange of this kind among educated people. Numerous instances could be cited of this improved atmosphere, but let two suffice: the summer institute at St. John's University, Collegeville, where Protestant ministers are invited to mingle for a week with the monks of St. Benedict and other Catholic scholars, and the recent volume, *American Catholics: A Protestant and Jewish View* (New York, 1959), edited with such happy results by Philip Scharper of Sheed & Ward.

In this respect, perhaps, we Americans are only catching up with our European brothers, for these mutually profitable exchanges have been going on for some years in a number of countries on the continent. A striking example of this new approach to inter-creedal differences having lengthy historical backgrounds was the sermon preached in the cathedral of Geneva last summer by François Charrière, Bishop of Lausanne, Geneva, and Fribourg, on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the University of Geneva. Bishop Charrière made all the necessary and proper distinctions between the Catholic and Calvinist positions in Switzerland, both in John Calvin's time and in our own. Yet he was emphatic in expressing joy in seeing the university imploring God's blessing on its fourth centenary, and he made it clear that he wished publicly "to affirm before the whole country our will to seek that which unites us, to deepen it in order the better to understand it, and to persuade ourselves of it" [*The Tablet* (London), August 8, 1959, p. 670]. Father Weigel's book is written in the same spirit of charity and with the same constructive purpose, and it will be of genuine help to those whose sympathy and efforts move them in the direction indicated. It has only one serious flaw; it lacks an index.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

The Catholic University of America

American Catholics: A Protestant-Jewish View. Edited by Philip Scharper. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1959. Pp. viii, 235. $3.75.)

A Catholic publisher asked six prominent Protestants and Jews to hold the mirror up to their Catholic neighbors. The result is a highly successful work of candid but courteous observations on the Church's teachings and the behavior of her American communicants. The authors share similar anxieties about the Church's "power," the sincerity of her commitment to religious freedom, and her aloofness from inter-creedal dialogue.

Robert McAfee Brown, professor at Union Theological Seminary, displays remarkable familiarity with Catholic literature and doctrine, and thus speaks from a vantage point in asking Catholics for greater efforts "to understand Protestantism." Recent co-operation between Protestants and Catholics in biblical studies, he views as an auspicious augury. He seeks stronger assurances that the Church's embrace of religious freedom is not a mere temporary accommodation to circumstances. Stringfellow Barr of Rutgers thinks Catholics eschew dialogue because they believe other religions have no truth to offer. The dialogue cannot be truly significant cautions Martin Marty, editor of the *Christian Century,* unless it becomes "specifically theological," and goes beyond superficial social problems. Allyn Robinson, a New York clergyman, warns that intercreedal talks should not require syncretism or a minimization of differences. Conflict he accepts as inevitable, but not destructive if each side respects the opponents' integrity. Like Dr. Brown, he kindly suggests that Catholic books expose error without wounding religious sensibilities. Amicable Lutheran-Catholic discussions in Germany encourage him to hope for a similar rapport in the United States. Arthur Cohen's theological treatise on the nature of the Jewish religion seems scarcely related to the general subject of the book; it is also querulous in tone and reveals an excess of sensitivity. Rabbi Arthur Gilbert is more successful, although his somewhat nervous pen is preoccupied with sketching the defenses of Judaism. His contribution, however, will let Catholics see why Jews so exercise themselves over religion in the public schools, aid to private schools, displays of the crèche, and certain types of presentations of the crucifixion.

This book should be read by priests, seminarians, religious teachers, and might profitably serve as basic matter for seminar discussions. It is sobering reading, but if it makes Catholics more circumspect in deed and utterance and motivates teachers to a more benign treatment of the tenets of other faiths and a clearer exposition of their own, it will have served a most useful purpose.

F. WILLIAM O'BRIEN

Georgetown University

GENERAL

A Social and Religious History of the Jews. By Salo W. Baron. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Volume VI, *High Middle Ages* (500-1200): *Laws, Homilies, and the Bible.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. 486. $7.50); VII, *High Middle Ages* (500-1200): *Hebrew Language and Letters* (*ibid,* 1958. Pp. 321. $5.50); VIII, *High Middle Ages* (500-1200): *Philosophy and Science* (*ibid.,* 1958. Pp. 405. $7.00. $17.50 the set).

For a review of Volumes I-V of this monumental work, see the REVIEW, XLV (April, 1959), 47-49. Volumes VI-VIII complete the text of the *History,* but the promised systematic bibliography and the index remain to be published. As in the preceding volumes, the new volumes are paginated separately, but the chapters run consecutively. Thus, Volume VI begins with Chapter XXVII and Volume VIII closes with Chapter XXXVI. As the titles indicate, these volumes are primarily concerned with the intellectual interests and achievements of the Jews in the period covered.

Volume VI begins with a chapter (XXVII) aptly called "The Reign of Law." It contains a critical exposition of mediaeval Jewish law and its methods of interpretation and application, its relations to Muslim law, local variations in Jewish law, and the development of a philosophy of law. The second chapter (XXVIII), "Homilies and Histories," stresses the importance of the homily in Jewish life and its essential relation to Scriptural and Talmudic exegesis, the continued Jewish interest in world history from the traditional theological point of view, and the tendency to emphasize legend at the expense of history in historico-theological speculation. Chapter XXIX, "Restudy of the Bible," is of particular interest to the readers of this journal. It deals with the history of the Biblical text, with the Aramaic, Arabic and other versions in relation to the original Hebrew, and, especially, with Jewish Biblical exegesis and its methods, including the rationalistic tendencies to be noted in certain scholars.

Volume VII, in three chapters (XXX-XXXII), describes the development of Hebrew grammar and lexicography—in part under the influence of Arabic scholarship, the creation of a mediaeval Hebrew literary language, and the use and flowering of a rich sacred and secular literature, especially in poetry. The author covers also the development of Hebrew liturgy and prayers, and has valuable sections on the history of Hebrew chant, Hebrew music in general, and musical theory.

Volume VIII is of basic importance for all mediaevalists. Chapter XXXIII deals with Jewish magic and magicians, their backgrounds, and their relation to orthodox Judaism. The various currents of Jewish mysticism are distinguished and their respective manifestations in Southern France, Germany, and elsewhere are described. Chapter XXXIV, "Faith and Reason," furnishes an excellent critical account of the rise of rationalism in mediaeval Jewish thought under the impact of Greco-Arabic thought. While Ibn Gabirol (Avicebron) did not succeed in resolving the conflict between Aristotelianism and the orthodox Jewish faith, a solution was found a century later by Moses Maimonides, the greatest and most influential of the mediaeval Jewish philosophers. The treatment of Maimonides is especially valuable, because he is studied primarily, though not exclusively, within the framework of Jewish thought and tradition. Chapters XXXV and XXXVI are devoted to the sciences and medicine. While covering more familiar ground here, the author treats Jewish work in the sciences and medicine in a more historical, critical, and integrated fashion than has been usually done in the past. Furthermore, he gives particular attention to the relations, often involving tensions and conflicts, between Jewish scientific investigation, theory, and practice, and orthodox faith.

The notes, which comprise more than a third of each volume, contain lengthy discussions of controversial points and problems and supply a copious and up-to-date bibliography. It is to be hoped that the promised systematic bibliography and index to the whole work will appear very soon. The index in particular is badly needed to control the enormous amount of scholarly information concealed in the notes.

This brief outline of the books under review is not intended to be complete, but it should suffice to give the reader some idea at least of their scope and significance. Professor Baron has written a social and religious history of the Jews to the thirteenth century A.D. which can be regarded as truly monumental and as the best and most authoritative work in the field. The volumes devoted to the Middle Ages deserve unqualified praise. The author writes with temperateness and objectivity. When he takes a personal stand on controversial questions, he does not fail to register opposing views. In evaluating the Jewish intellectual achievement, he has given full consideration to Greek, Arabic, and Christian contacts and influences, and he has assessed the Jewish contribution within the broad framework of mediaeval intellectual history in general. The discussions and references in the notes indicate how thoroughly he has made use of non-Jewish literature. In this connection it is a pleasure to observe that Catholic scholarship has not been neglected.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

The Catholic University of America

The Meaning and Matter of History: A Christian View. By M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Co. 1959. Pp. 309. $5.50.)

Father D'Arcy's comment that today "the tide is flowing against philosophies of history," is one of his few statements with which one might take clear exception. The sheer bulk of comment on Toynbee, as well as the writings of Daniélou, Collingwood, Butterfield, and Maritain, and most recently of Teilhard de Chardin, testifies to the wide interest in what Father D'Arcy calls "historicism." But in this rapidly multiplying literature on the nature and philosophy of history, this collection of essays is not "just another book." For the professional historian will find Father

D'Arcy's presentation distinguished by two all-too-rare characteristics. First is the basically historical, empirical approach; in a field notorious for its *a priori* conclusions and often historically-jarring generalizations, the author has insisted on a "fact-finding" survey. Secondly, Father D'Arcy only reluctantly reveals his own views; he is more concerned with providing an integrated synopsis of the "larger views," past and present. In the scope of ten essays, often only rather casually tied together, the author asks three questions: 1) what is the nature of historical knowledge —or, more pointedly, is history a science? 2) what are the possibilities of a "philosophy of history"? and 3) what is the relation of Christianity and history?

Martin D'Arcy is surely no Rankean when he warns against considering history as a science. "The scientist wants to discover what happens *whenever p,* the historian *when p. . . .*" "It would appear that history is a half-way house between science and art. The historian has to use his imagination and his sympathy to reconstruct. . . ." Father D'Arcy stresses what he terms "interpretation" in history, which, roughly, is "the knowledge of man by man." For "the subject matter of history is human conduct"; hence, the historian who tries to "divest himself entirely from his feelings and beliefs" is untrue to his calling. Views such as these are far closer to the pragmatic Charles A. Beard, who insisted that since the facts of history lack the faculty of self-selection and the power to move themselves into some pattern, all "scientific" history presumes some thinking person, than they are to Ranke's factual goal. At one point, indeed, the author goes so far as to ask approvingly, ". . . who does not admit that every great historian begins with a theory, and though he modifies it in the face of evidence, he is nevertheless driven by it to select his evidence and marshal his facts?" Here his "half-way house" leans far to art.

The second "large question" posed by this book concerns "historicism." According to Father D'Arcy, "the formal object of his [the philosopher of history] study differs from that of the historian in that he is looking at history as a whole . . , trying to find there certain laws or tendencies, repetitions in the rise and fall of nations, constant conditions of progress and decay." In providing a survey of the great philosophers of history —Bossuet, Vico, Hegel, Croce, Toynbee—D'Arcy prepares us for his final, and by far, the most personal, section of his fine book.

In his closing hundred pages, Father D'Arcy analyzes the relations of history and Christianity. Here he utilizes what he has said of history and historicism to comment more personally on the Christian theology of history. "God is not temporal, but His ways with men are; and in Christ He has seized hold of time in such a way as to compel us to acknowledge a divine mystery in it and to strive to penetrate this mystery." Providence, morality, revelation are profoundly discussed—but with telling allusions to C. S. Lewis, Teilhard de Chardin, and others of our day. Illuminating both in insight and style, then, are these essays. And to the professionally fact-minded historian, so proverbially adverse to all that smacks of theory and theology, the cautious, factual approach is most welcome and assuring

D. F. SHEA

Saint Joseph's College
Rensselaer

The Age of the Democratic Revolution. A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800. Volume I. *The Challenge.* By R. R. Palmer. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 534. $7.50.)

This is the first part of a two-volume work that is likely to be Professor Palmer's major undertaking, although it will hardly measure up to his *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France* in its philosophic probing or to his *Twelve Who Ruled* in its detailed and judicious historical analysis. It is, however, an important work of historical synthesis directed toward enunciating a thesis.

Palmer's thesis has two facets. In principle he endeavors to do for western civilization, as a whole, what Georges Lefebvre did, for France, in his *The Coming of the French Revolution* (as it is titled in Dr. Palmer's able translation). He shows in the first place that, after the quasi-revolution in France during the 1760's and concomitant to subsequent events in America, there set in, throughout Europe *and* America, a mustering of obstructionism on the part of the "constituted bodies" against both "enlightened despotism" and the clamorings of "the unredeemed classes." His purpose is to show that "revolution" was not the fruit of the "enlightenment" or the rising tide of radicalism. This will probably evoke considerable literary activity among the neo-Burkeans! Indeed, Burke is exhibited here without a halo: sometimes as a man of high principles but little common sense.

The second facet is of rather more interest for the author takes considerable care in arguing that the American Revolution was not only a "real" revolution but that in its basic principle of reconstruction, *the people as constituent power,* it achieved "the political revolution" of modern times. The result is quite impressive.

There are flaws, indeed great yawning chasms, in this study. They need not be detailed and should be expected. These will be quite painful to all who are as familiar with the earlier periods covered in this volume as Dr. Palmer is as he approaches the French Revolution, and its immediate background, where he walks with a very sure tread. But it enhances the

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expectation for what is still to come! He is weakest (east European historians will dispute this) in his analysis of the inner functioning of the "oligarchy" in England and it dims his perception of the "values" of men like Burke. Furthermore, he relies much too much on works such as Charles R. Ritcheson's *British Politics and the American Revolution* for his point of view as to the "British backgrounds." But what will come as something of a shock to a great many will be the absence of any real understanding of the revolutionary significance of the political history of France, to say nothing of the diplomatic history of Europe, in the decade between the Peace of Paris and the "pause in politics" in 1772. These perspectives would have reinforced, and at great depth, the essential validity of his thesis, or rather theses.

Still, in any case, this is not a book about which carping and quibbling can be justified. The obligation is rather to measure *its* compass and to endeavor to catch *his* point of view. One cannot, upon reaching the point, 1792, at which he draws together the volume's manifold narratives, escape the feeling that this is one of those seminal books (with which our *moment* is much blessed) that is leading toward the healthy historiographical reorientations of which our age stands so much in need.

ELDON M. TALLEY

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The Historical Thought of P. J. B. Buchez. By Barbara Patricia Petri. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 133. $1.50.)

The Historical Thought of José Ortega y Gasset. By Christian Ceplecha, O.S.B. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 182. $2.00.)

The writers whose historical thought is presented in the two doctoral dissertations here under review were in agreement that a science of history is possible, a science enabling man to discover the basic laws of historical movement and thus to foresee and direct more effectively the course of the future. Both of these writers were insistent in pointing out the inevitability of historical movement; both warned of the dangers inherent in a fatalistic, unimaginative clinging to the status quo. Both men were active in furthering the establishment of republican forms of government in their respective countries, even though separated by a century in time, and both were opposed to collectivism in the forms in which they encountered it. But here the similarity ends, for in practically all other respects Philippe-Joseph-Benjamin Buchez (1796-1865) and José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1956) were opposites—religiously, philosophically, sociologically, and temperamentally at opposite poles.

Buchez, whose childhood beliefs were lost in the course of a thoroughly anti-Christian education, returned to Catholic belief in his middle age (although he did not enter the Church until shortly before his death), and saw in Christian teaching the surest inspiration and support of his social objectives. Ortega, who received his early education in the schools of the Spanish Jesuits, dropped his Catholic beliefs soon after the beginning of his career at the Universidad Central in Madrid, and drew further away from Christian thought as a result of his later studies in Germany. In his mature writings he regarded Christianity as a thing of the past: the beliefs of European man, he said, had changed from Christianity to rationalism in the crisis of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Buchez based his historical thought on the concept of a continual progress toward the attainment of increasingly perfect moral aims given to man in a series of divine revelations from Adam to Christ. Having advanced in the earlier ages of historical existence through the pursuit of the duties of the family, the tribe, and the city and state, man under the Christian revelation now progresses toward universal fraternity and equality and the attendant amelioration of the condition of the poorest class in society. This continual progress is guided by divine wisdom, and its working out is inevitable; although it is given to man to further this progress by his free co-operation. Ortega, on the contrary, held that historical movement has no ultimate goal but is simply the development of life—the root reality—according to its own immanent laws, culture succeeding culture as old beliefs are exhausted and new beliefs take their place. In this development man "makes himself," planning the drama in the vital project of his beliefs, and then trying to achieve the figure which he has resolved to be. The shortcomings of the project inevitably appear in its execution, and another vital project or program takes its place. The new project, however, is historically conditioned by the old which continues as a negative influence. In this dialectic of historical reason (which for Ortega is the sum of reality) the great leaders who are the creators of history are above any moral considerations.

The distinction between the "select minority" and the "mass" is essential in Ortega's historical dialectic. The mass must be led, and it will be led so long as the select minority of the intellectuals (who know man in his history) provide the vital projects. When the select minority of a given generation fails in its mission there is a "revolt of the masses," purposes and ideals disappear, and a miserable, dragging life without aim or anticipation ensues. Buchez had no comparable philosophical theory about the mechanics of historical progress, but his economic proposal of "workers' associations of production" designed to do away with the necessity of capitalists hardly seems in accord with Ortega's views on the select minority and the masses.

Miss Petri gives a very interesting account of the political and socio-economic activities of Buchez, indicating both his dependence upon and his correction of, the theories of progress of Turgot, Condorcet, and Saint-Simon, and remarking his influence on the subsequent development of French social Catholicism. Dom Ceplecha has made a valuable contribution in his clear, concise, and solidly critical treatment of the tragic and inconclusive brilliance of Ortega y Gasset. The philosophical influence of Kant, Dilthey, and Nietzsche upon Ortega's thought is pointed out, and similarities to current existentialist themes are made apparent. The author does not neglect to credit Ortega with the recognition of the dangers of mass-democracy, perhaps, the one valuable contribution that can be salvaged from the inevitable shipwreck of Ortega's attempt to construct a meaningful anthropocentric view of history. Both the authors and the Graduate School in which they were enrolled are to be congratulated on these worthy additions to the list of the University's historical studies.

Owen Bennett

St. Anthony-on-Hudson
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Political Theory. The Foundations of Twentieth Century Political Thought. By Arnold Brecht. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 603. $12.00.)

Dr. Brecht, professor emeritus of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science at the New School for Social Research, presents very dispassionately and with great fairness of spirit an analysis of the meaning of "Scientific Method" as employed in political science since the turn of the century. The analysis is divided into four parts: systematic, genetic, polemic, and at the borderline of metaphysics. The title of the last division suggests the Kantian basis of "Scientific Method." Professor Brecht tells us that scientific method is a form of relativism that is neither philosophical nor historical relativism; it is "scientific relativism." It is not a relativism that says that there *is* no absolute truth nor absolute value (philosophical relativism); it merely says that we cannot *know* any absolute truth or absolute value. What the author calls "intersubjectively transmissible knowledge," i.e., knowledge that can be communicated from one person to another *qua* knowledge—does not reach beyond what appears to be true; and nothing appears to us to be true that is not perfectly adequate to the human intellect. Since no metaphysical and theological concepts are perfectly and adequately objects of the human intellect, no propositions of these sciences can claim to come within the scope of "Scientific Method." But Professor Brecht goes further; he goes beyond the position that is generally taken by physicists in regard to the nature of experimental science. Since the knowledge to which sensibles can, indeed, lead (physics, mathematics) does not, in Brecht's view, go beyond the *mode* of knowing, intersubjectively transmissible knowledge in such fields does not even "save the appearances" (as hypotheses are commonly thought of doing in experimental science); it is limited to "appearances" which in this case are nothing other than the modes of our knowing ("evidence" not conclusions; species and genera; constructs; pointer-readings). That is why Brecht says that what is intersubjectively transmissible knowledge is transmissible only *qua* knowledge; *what the knowledge is of (Ding-an-Sich)* is not transmissible.

The chief effect of this "method" in political science is the removal of "absolute values." Scientific method leads to "Scientific Value Relativism." All that political science can legitimately do is to explore the consequences of what are *held to be* values (as *"held to be,"* values are intersubjectively transmissible). Brecht feels that "Recognition that ultimate standards of moral value judgments cannot be . . . verified by scientific theory" does not "imply such devastating effects as had been feared." But he scarcely succeeds in overcoming what he himself feels is an unsatisfactory situation. In answer to Professor Leo Strauss' objection that if relativists were consistent they would not be permitted to speak (as they do) of "cruelty," etc., because this includes a value judgment, Brecht replies that "No scientific relativist would condemn words like cruelty, civilization, prostitution . . . whenever they are used within a clear frame of reference as descriptive in accordance with known standards, *as long as these standards are not themselves at issue."* (Italics in original.) Indeed, Brecht feels that precisely because scientific value relativism can often demonstrate "that some type of political actions give the people a better guaranty than do alternative actions for getting what they actually desire" the method "does not imply such devastating effects as had been feared." But I am afraid that the effects are more devastating than had been feared. If the effects that have been feared from scientific value relativism were merely moral indifferentism, anomy and apathy, they might not be actually "devastating." The devastating effects lie rather precisely in the "better guaranty" that scientific value relativism can give the people of "getting what they actually desire." For what they actually desire in a free world of intersubjectively transmissible knowledge is the overthrow of everything that stands in the way of their "free constructs," viz., the common experience of moral ends and purposes. This is the way, indeed, that scientific method moves from anomy to autonomy. As Judge Learned Hand has said, indefectible principles are "at war with our only truthworthy way of living in accord with the facts." Professor Harold Lasswell, who is described by Brecht as one of the leading "goal-orientated" relativists, thinks that the practice of democracy is enhanced by an increasingly "permissive" attitude toward sex relations; and Dr. Kinsey has advocated a "democratic pluralism of sexuality." The practical role of political science, operating under "scientific method," becomes that of opposing the real world of common experience of moral ends and purposes. What Eddington has said with propriety concerning physics, viz., that the frank realization that physical science is concerned with a world of shadows is one of the most significant of recent advances, is applied with profound impropriety to social science: For if the "familiar world" in physics can, after all, never be exorcised, the "familiar world" of moral ends can be exorcised. Indeed, within the framework of "scientific method" this is the way to autonomy.

The reason why Brecht cannot—as he says he cannot—bridge what he calls the "logical gulf" between "is" and "ought" should be noticed. It is because, with Kant, he has severed all communication between what traditionally had been thought of as the reason that is nature, the reason that is the cause of nature, and the human reason. On his premise he is quite right in saying that there is no bridge between "is" and "ought"; but this is because there is no bridge between the "is" itself and my knowledge. Indeed, he admits that the facts around which the hypotheses of scientific method are built are not themselves intersubjectively transmissible; he overcomes this somewhat disconcerting consideration by saying ". . . to accept identity of the object . . . observed by several persons means to accept a fundamental presupposition: the truth of the common-sense assumption that one and the same thing often causes parallel impressions in different human beings, and that, therefore, there is a broad sphere of what is best called . . . 'consubjectivity.'" In permitting this notion of consubjectivity, Brecht says, "Scientific Method makes its first and greatest concession to common sense." It ought, indeed, to make a few more.

CHARLES N. R. MCCOY

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MODERN EUROPE

The Armada. By Garrett Mattingly. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1959. Pp. xviii, 443. $6.00.)

The story of the Armada, "magnified and distorted by a golden mist, became a heroic apologue of the defense of freedom against tyranny, an eternal myth of the victory of the weak over the strong. . . ." This is one of the myths which falls victim to the incisive writing of Professor Mattingly. The legend of the "Black Irish" and the extent of Spanish losses and English gains are other misconceptions aired and dispersed. "Addressed to the general reader interested in history" by its author's own confession, *The Armada* portrays the expedition of 1588 not only in its strategic and tactical aspects, but as a major part of the over-all plan or "Enterprise" against England, a plan to be carried out in the political and diplomatic fields as well as on the fields of Flanders and in the waters of the channel. Naval action is not introduced until Chapter 8; the Armada itself is deferred until Chapter 17; the main action occupies the middle chapters. In the meanwhile, we are taken to the capitals of western Europe to be shown the reaction of London, Paris, the Netherlands, Rome, and Spain to the news of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, with all its political and international implications. As we progress through the story, we begin to see the inter-connection between the Armada and the politics of Europe: between the activities of Henry of Guise in France and Cardinal Allen in Rome; between Elizabeth's new diplomatic position and Parma's new military aims. When finally the Spanish fleet sets out for its encounter with the English, we are able to see the engagement as something beyond a naval operation in connection with the invasion of England. And when the shooting and maneuvering are finished, and the failure of the "Enterprise" reported all over Europe, we can understand more clearly some of the after-effects: the resurgence of French royal power with the assassination of Guise; the demoralization of English Catholics in exile; the sanguine hopes of the English nation for the future; the patient and stoic resolution of Philip II to rebuild his shattered fortunes.

Professor Mattingly has certainly attained his object of presenting the ordinary reader with a comprehensive and comprehensible account of the Armada. The appendices of research and source materials for each chapter cannot but please the more exacting historian, as well as the extensive index. Both classes of readers, i.e., professional and popular, will be interested in the fresh interpretation presented: that the Armada was basically a struggle between conflicting systems of ideas, "the focus of the first great international crisis in modern history"; that the defeat of the "Enterprise" was decisive, not because of control of the seas or because of its implications for colonial empire, but because "it decided that the Counter Reformation was not to triumph throughout Europe," that the Catholic Hapsburg wave of the future had reached full flood and was about to ebb.

PAUL J. MABREY

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Sir Walter Raleigh. By Willard M. Wallace. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 334. $6.00.)

Sir Walter Raleigh has been so long an almost legendary hero in the history of early American colonization that it is high time there was available a readable and up-to-date study of the man and his career. This we have now in the splendid biography by Professor Wallace of Wesleyan University, issued in attractive format by the Princeton University Press. Americans so often think of Raleigh only in connection with the "Lost Colony" of Roanoke Island—an episode which actually occurred early in his varied activities as a public figure—that it may astonish some to learn of his many-sided nature. Mr. Wallace describes Raleigh as "truly the Renaissance man of Elizabethan England," and when one considers the complete list of his accomplishments—as soldier, sailor, courtier, Captain of the Queen's Guard, business man, explorer, colonizer, member of Parliament, devotee of science, ship designer, military engineer, musician, literary patron, historian, and poet—it becomes apparent that he fully qualifies for inclusion among the "universal men" of all times. The impressive catalogue of Raleigh's interests is emphasized when it is noted that, while he "became the most hated and feared Englishman of his time," books were dedicated to him by geographers, a musician, a poet, a medical man, and an antiquarian.

Raleigh's views on colonization and settlement, and his lack of success in putting them into operation, show that he was ahead of his contemporaries. An early pamphlet on the subject stressed the mercantilist argument that overseas colonies would serve as sources of raw materials not obtainable at home. Later, the expedition to Guiana and its failure demonstrated that as yet there was no interest in establishing a colonial empire. Mr. Wallace points out, however, that Raleigh's patents for colonization were the first to include a provision that the common law was to apply. Raleigh's difficulties seem to have stemmed from his marriage to Bess Throgmorton, for Queen Elizabeth, with pathological disgust for the institution, would not tolerate marriage for any of her favorites, and showed her displeasure by keeping Raleigh inactive for an appreciable period. Added to this starting handicap was the plain fact that Raleigh was a poor judge of character and continually put his trust in persons who, like Cecil, were actually planning his downfall. Then there was the matter of Raleigh's religious beliefs. The author makes it clear that Sir Walter was not an atheist, as was charged, but "he was uncertain of the precise nature of God." He was tolerant toward Catholics at a time when they were under persecution, and he made no secret of his interest in discussions with men holding "liberal" views, such as Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Hariot. On the other hand, his writings were studded with scriptural allusions, and, as Mr. Wallace remarks, a poem he penned during the night before his execution has in it a positive expression of religious faith.

The charges which brought Raleigh to trial for treason, condemnation to death, thirteen years' imprisonment, and finally to the loss of his head on the block, appear to be an early case of "guilt by association." In this instance, Raleigh had hobnobbed with an unbalanced individual named Cobham, who was involved in one of the plots against the new King James I. The trial was conducted before a panel of judges among whom several were Raleigh's active enemies, and it was highlighted by the extremely improper conduct of the prosecutor, Sir Edward Coke (later to become the great exponent of the law which he flouted so flagrantly in this affair). In prison Raleigh followed with interest the development of the Jamestown colony, but devoted much time to writings designed as instruction for the young Prince Henry. His *History of the World,* a landmark in historiography, was based on the new theory that the past could teach lessons for the present. Released from the Tower to lead a second expedition to Guiana, Raleigh was doomed from the start by the fact that King James himself had revealed to the hostile Spaniards all of the English plans. Raleigh was enmeshed in the king's schemes for marrying his son Charles to a Spanish princess, suffered complete disaster, and returned home realizing his probable fate.

This book contains keen character portraits, including Queen Elizabeth, Essex, Cecil, King James, and Coke, as well as a throng of lesser figures of the period. So vividly does it paint a picture of the atmosphere from which sprang the first American colonies that it should be read by all interested in that subject.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

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Blaise Pascal, The Life and Work of a Realist. By Ernest Mortimer. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1959. Pp. 249. $4.00.)

The main theme of this book is an examination of Pascal's approach to truth. Because it was impossible to "separate Pascal's thought from his person, or his person from his career" (p. 11), Ernest Mortimer had to broaden his aim and range beyond the limits of psychology and epistemology. The result is a delightful interpretation of genius, honest in its scholarship, rich in sympathy, controlled and sober in its judgments. Mortimer has drawn upon a life-long study of Pascal to produce a satisfying biography of a remarkable man. Quickly sketching in enough of the seventeenth-century background to make readily intelligible the extraordinary diversity and significance of Pascal's activities, the author quotes liberally and lets Pascal himself speak in the critical and decisive moments of the developing story. Pascal's interests varied from mathematics, geometry, and physics to the mysteries of the spiritual life. His work was theoretical and practical in the field of science, devotional and apologetic in religion. Inventor of a calculating machine, initiator of public transportation for the city of Paris, composer of scientific and mathematical treatises, Pascal stepped briefly into the field of theological debate as he undertook the defense of the Port Royal religious community in the *Lettres Provinciales* (1656-1657). He planned, but never completed, a defense of Christianity against the secularists of his day. His famous *Pensées* (published after his death) constitute a brilliant miscellany of insight and acute observation.

In Chapter II Mortimer analyzes Pascal's theory of knowledge. We have two sources of certain knowledge: reason, *l'esprit,* which yields abstract knowledge; *le coeur* (Mortimer understands this to be more than the physiological heart), which penetrates "much more immediately to the core and meaning of the object perceived" (p. 208). Through *le coeur* we enter into the order of charity in which "the 'brightness' and 'warmth' of God are felt as facts" (p. 208). Through *le coeur* we gain our knowledge of first principles. On these "intuited" first principles *l'esprit* must build all rational argument. The author concludes his analysis with a summary statement: "Perception of a whole fact involves more than the analysing mind; it involves the personality. We are *en rapport* with our world, in some sense akin to it, and so our knowledge has something of the character of immediate recognition" (p. 210). To say that Mortimer has presented the theory fairly and accurately is not, of course, to approve the theory itself. The book is divided into two main sections: Part I, consisting of nine chapters principally biographical; Part II, four chapters covering in turn the book of the *Pensées,* Pascal's theory of knowledge, his estimate of human nature, and reflections on God. Helpful are a select bibliography, an appendix of translations of foreign language quotations in the text, and a good index.

MAURICE F. REIDY

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The Correspondence of Edmund Burke. Volume I, *April 1744-June 1768.* Edited by Thomas W. Copeland. (Cambridge: At the University Press; Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. xxv, 376. $8.00.)

For virtually a century and a half the main body of Edmund Burke's papers were unavailable to scholars with very few exceptions. Burke's literary executors, Drs. French Laurence and Walker King, commenced work on the papers at least five years before Burke's death, in 1797, and finally produced the edition of his *Works* which we still use today. The last volume appeared in 1827. Laurence and King had intended to write a biography which would contain a number of Burke's letters. Hence, they collected as much of his correspondence as they could find which had not been published. Upon King's death, in 1827, the collection went to the octogenarian fourth Earl Fitzwilliam who had been named an additional literary executor by Mrs. Burke following her husband's death. Seventeen years later, the fifth Earl Fitzwilliam, who had succeeded his father, in collaboration with General Sir Richard Bourke, published a four-volume edition of *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke.* Based almost exclusively upon the Fitzwilliam collection, this edition ignored Burke letters already published as well as other important bodies of letters written by Burke of which they could have availed themselves. Among the earlier sources of published letters were *The Epistolary Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke and Dr. French Laurence* (1827) and two issues of the *New Monthly Magazine* (Volumes XIV and XVI, 1825 and 1826, respectively). Since 1844 other significant publications of Burke's correspondence have taken place. Among them are Gilson's *Correspondence of Edmund Burke and William Windham,* Samuels' *Early Life, Correspondence, and Writings of Edmund Burke,* and Hoffman's *Edmund Burke, New York Agent, and the Burke-O'Hara Correspondence.* In addition, a useful source of published Burke letters are the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Other Burke correspondence is tucked away in curious places, e.g., his important letters to his closest friend in Bristol, Richard Champion, the porcelain manufacturer, are located in Hugh Owen's *Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol.* In summary, to discover those letters of Burke in print before the end of 1958, one would have to consult approximately 200 sources, scattered among books, magazines, and newspapers.

About as widely broadcast are the manuscript originals. There are between 100 and 150 public and private collections containing Burke materials. In 1948 the ninth Earl Fitzwilliam graciously allowed the Fitzwilliam collection of Burke material to be placed on deposit at the Sheffield Central Library and made available to qualified scholars. At the same time, the now tenth earl agreed to place the second largest collection of Burke's papers, which had long been kept at Milton near Peterborough, on deposit with the Northamptonshire Record Society, first in Northampton, later at Lamport Hall, and now at Delapre Abbey. Along with the main Burke collection at Sheffield went the papers of Burke's two chief patrons, the second Marquess of Rockingham and the fourth Earl Fitzwilliam.

Thus, it became feasible for a new and definitive edition of Burke's correspondence to be undertaken. Fortunately, the work was placed in the capable hands of Professor Copeland, now of the University of Massachusetts, who is assisted by a number of experts from the British Isles and the United States. The work has progressed to the point that we have the first volume. The plan envisages the issuance of a volume annually until the series is completed with a total of ten. Unfortunately, the second volume, slated for publication in December, 1959, was delayed by the printers' strike in Britain. The first volume is an excellent piece of scholarly work. It contains 191 complete and six partially preserved Burke letters covering the years 1744 to 1768. By contrast the 1844 edition of the *Correspondence* for the same years contained only twenty-seven letters.

THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials. Government Policy and Public Opinion in the Habsburg Dominions in the Period of the French Revolution. By Ernst Wangermann. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 212. $4.00.)

Too little work has appeared in English concerning the history of the Hapsburg monarchy. Most of it, with a few honorable exceptions, has dealt with problems in diplomatic history, leaving the political, constitutional, and economic development of this territory to a few neat phrases such as the famous cliché on Hapsburg matrimonial policy. Here is a monograph which goes a distance toward correcting this situation. Mr. Wangermann discusses the last years of the enlightened despotism of Joseph II and the retreat from it by Leopold II and Francis II. He is particularly interested in censorship, the development of the police state, repressive administrative measures, and the protest against these developments.

The author makes clear the complex character of "Josephinism." Emperor Joseph recognized that his efforts to establish his personal reformist rule were hampered primarily by the privileged classes, particularly the Church and the estates, which were dominated by the aristocracy; therefore, he moved against these groups in his famous series of edicts. In doing so, however, he unleashed the nascent protest of the unprivileged, the "fourth estate," which, fortified by Enlightenment teaching, was beginning to claim its rights. The coincidence of this movement with the early revolutionary events in France was dangerous. As Mr. Wangermann puts it:

> Public opinion in the Fourth Estate had overtaken enlightened despotism by which it had first been aroused. It was beginning to question the fundamental assumptions of aristocratic privilege, of Christianity and of despotism itself.

The bulk of the book describes the growing awareness of this danger by Joseph in his last months and by his two successors, and the steps they took to counteract the peril to the regime. The interaction of internal affairs with the mounting crusade against France culminating in the war of 1792, is made clear, although it might be emphasized more fully. This is a classic example of the inter-dependence of internal and external events.

The first three generalized chapters prepare the reader for a study of the so-called "Jacobin conspiracy" of 1794 and the trials which resulted from it. Here is the watershed which shifted the direction of Hapsburg rule from the Enlightenment attitude of Joseph II to the police state attitude of Metternich. The author gives credit to the efforts of Emperor Francis to retain the concept of a state based on law and even more to his functionaries who made fervent pleas for the law. The general story, however, is a sad one, illustrating the dangers of administrative rule insufficiently diluted by a broad philosophic understanding of the majesty of respected law. It would be too much to say that this work is easily readable. It is apparently a doctoral dissertation and suffers from the usual stiltedness of that species. The author appears to have exhausted the available sources and has certainly produced a work of real value to students of the late eighteenth century who can shake themselves loose from the usual concentration on French affairs during those years.

MARSHALL DILL, JR.

Dominican College of San Rafael

Alexis de Tocqueville in the Chamber of Deputies. His Views on Foreign and Colonial Policy. By Mary Lawlor, S.N.D. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 201. $2.25.)

This doctoral dissertation, issued during the centennial year of Tocqueville's death, considers his attitudes and ideas on foreign policy and colonial problems, especially, the Eastern Question of the early 1840's; the problem of right of search; slavery in the French colonies; and the Algerian problem of the day. On each of these Tocqueville had either spoken or written at length; these the author has closely scrutinized and related to other Tocqueville letters and reports. Perhaps, the most valuable aspect of the study is the comparison of actual policies with those ideas expressed in his *Democracy in America.* Sister Mary's work is an addition to the literature on Tocqueville, and we are thankful to the author for having enlightened a neglected area of his career.

It is interesting to see how little the idealist understood foreign relations and how blinded he was by his own nationalism—even to the point of desiring war with Great Britain in the early 1840's on the Eastern

Question. War certainly would have been disastrous for France, but Tocqueville was unable to see this. Lord Palmerston scored, perhaps, his greatest diplomatic triumph in the Eastern Question, a point that seems to have eluded the author of this monograph. The diplomatic history of the 1830's and 1840's still suffers from a degree of obscurity; but a more careful attention to necessary background materials might have better placed Tocqueville's actions in their total setting. The great theorist of American democracy was much more the myopic, passionate French nationalist when it came to practical problems in the French Chamber of Deputies in the 1840's. The author also shows, a point not too well developed, that his "aristocratic bent" tempered his ideas on democracy.

In regard to Tocqueville's ideas on colonial problems, Sister Mary makes two points. Beaumont's statement that he had constantly voted against the government's proposals proves to be incorrect; for he supported the measures for gradual emancipation of colonial slaves, thus reversing an earlier stand, and he also supported the Algerian policy of Louis Philippe's regime. Although his reports on Algeria show a deep understanding of the religious, social, and economic questions involved in governing a dependent colonial area, Tocqueville's interest seems to stem from his desire to see his native land become a great imperialistic power. As the author remarks, "His colonial policy is on the one hand quite unethical and on the other rather enlightened." The reports on Algeria are very important to anyone who is studying Tocqueville's political philosophy, for in them he gives a concrete application of some of his theory.

In this reviewer's opinion, a further weakness of this monograph is the author's failure to indicate whether Tocqueville expressed any additional ideas in private correspondence or public statements; but apparently the manuscript material was not available at this time. It is hoped that Sister Mary will attempt a study of Tocqueville's whole legislative career, for he must have been much more concerned with domestic issues than with foreign affairs.

PHILIP NERI HARTZELL

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English Historical Documents. Volume XI, *1783-1832.* Edited by A. Aspinall and E. Anthony Smith. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xxx, 992. $15.20.)

Were this volume to become "an authoritative work of primary reference" as the general editor of this series wishes (p. iii), one result would be the overwhelming sense of dullness which must pervade this period of English history. The book lacks both the golden hues of Bryant, and also the feeling of deep unrest in Halévy's *England in 1815.* Admirably edited from a mechanical point of view, this collection of documents fails to bring to life these curious years of England's past. We greet, then, with an unusual enthusiasm, the occasional offerings of the rather special wit of the Reverend Sidney Smith. Actually, the documents cover a somewhat neglected period in English historical studies. The continental scene strikingly offsets what seems to be the dullish business of a "corrupt but contented" England in these decades between the Augustan and Victorian ages. Yet this period of transition, like most similar periods, contains the very stuff of the movement of history. It is, perhaps, not a fascinating period for England, but it is, surely, a most interesting one.

There is much, nevertheless, to commend the volume. Collections of documents rarely become that elusive thing: a portrait of an age. Not even Mr. G. M. Young's succeeding volume in the series does this. The present editors make no such ambitious attempt. They are, therefore, correct in their comparative neglect of imperial and foreign affairs. So much of English historiography and existing printed collections are already overshadowed by the French Revolution, Napoleon, and the Restoration. The present volume is the better for this neglect from one point of view: in the hands of Professor Aspinall, a penetrating student of the cabinet system, his sure treatment of the continued importance of the royal prerogative and its relationship—both to the many layers of cabinets and to the Parliament, is particularly fine. Indeed, these sections are the best part of the book, and the longest part. One-third of the present volume is devoted to the inner workings of government. This is understandable if we consider Professor Aspinall's special competence. It is also usual, when we are aware of the nineteenth-century Whig bias favorable to political history. In our own century, this tradition of history, as almost past-politics, seems unwittingly re-affirmed in the work of many students of modern British history.

There is, however, another less hallowed tradition in contemporary historiography which is most imperfectly reflected in this collection: intellectual, social, and cultural history. The editors are sometimes aware of this (p. 45) and occasionally make suitable use of such important sources as the Creevey Papers (p. 548). Such moments are rare when the many pages of official documents are relieved by similar vignettes. The recovery of optimism in the Napoleonic aftermath is delineated in one of the finest passages in the general introduction (pp. 55-56), yet little evidence is proffered to illustrate this important historical development. Such questions always present the historian with difficulties of treatment. But, their discussion is necessary if a more complete picture of even so small a part of this past is to emerge. Surely, if the book is an authoritative work of primary reference, again the contrast with the editors' presentation of things political is evident. Through a wise choice of documents one can sense the emergence, by 1812, of something closer to "party" in the later nineteenth-century meaning of the term, rather than government by "faction," so prevalent in the eighteenth century. Assuredly the workings of eighteenth-century politics have been so well illuminated for us by Sir Louis Namier that we are not surprised to discern in the present volume the stamp of Sir Louis' efforts. To continue this contrast: for the larger part of this period the "great questions" of moment remained "open" for the various governments. Precisely because the handling of these issues (parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the abolition of the slave trade) is accomplished so admirably in the political section, the failure to make adequate use of public documents (diaries, but particularly the press and the quarterlies) proves a disappointment. Such a disappointment is unexceptional, for it continues to be the proper reaction to the last four sections of the volume. These deal with economic, social and religious, imperial, and foreign affairs. These chapters further lack the kind of excellence evidenced by the earlier ones. For while admitting the wisdom of an editorial policy concentrating on "home affairs" (p. iv) a broader interpretation and use of documents seems called for.

Here, then, is no well-woven tapestry. This is not really distressing, if it were not equally true that we have been left without some of the necessary threads and colors to weave it ourselves. However, in a volume which contains so many important documents (many published for the first time), we are yet well served by this fact alone. And we are further served by the particular excellences which both Professor Aspinall and Mr. Smith do offer.

JAMES FRANCIS SULLIVAN

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Italy. A Modern History. By Denis Mack Smith. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 508, xxviii. $7.50.)

Modern Italian history is a sad story. Politically the country has been united for just a century and it has been a century filled with tragedy for Italians. The high hopes entertained by the visionaries of the Risorgimento have been belied by a sorry series of military defeats in Europe and in Africa, by jobbery, intrigue, and want of courage in high places, and by unalleviated poverty and ignorance in the south, made more bitter by its contrast with fair progress in parts of the north. The politicians have shown a stronger propensity for keeping themselves in power, by adroit combinations, than they have for facing directly the very hard economic and political realities confronting their new country. They have also shown a propensity for romantic and escapist foreign policy intended to satisfy the longing of some Italians to show that, after all, they were the equal of the ancient Romans.

This story Mr. Mack Smith, who is the leading English specialist in the field, has told vividly, if harshly, illustrating it from his detailed knowledge of the sources, and building up a frightening picture of political inadequacy. Such a picture was to be expected. Any competent historian who was prepared to lift the lid from the pot of the last century of Italian politics was bound to have something unsavoury to show. Yet what he shows is not always what was to be expected. He has some hard words for the monarchy. And the *trasformismo,* and "log-rolling," which prevented the development of parties based on clear principle, is shown to have been begun by that liberal statesman so admired by the West, Cavour. Nor do even the greatest Italian liberals, not Croce, nor Salvemini, emerge quite unscathed in the wholesale indictment. As for Mussolini, indictment is too good for him; he is treated as a dangerous buffoon.

The author's presentation of his case is full and scholarly. It is also lively, witty, and sardonic. But it is the case for the prosecution. The Italian government is forever in the dock. A few politicians—notably de Gasperi—are acquitted; but most are found guilty. In the end the reader cannot help wondering—were they really quite as bad as this? The political failure of United Italy is there for all to see, but was it not to some extent due to causes beyond the control of the politicians? Certainly it was their business to correct, educate, lead; but their task was immensely difficult and some of the Italian people—especially the city dwellers shouting in the piazzas for glory—should be given their full share of the blame. They got the politicians they deserved. Or again, in the lengthy section on Fascism, if the vivid picture of Mussolini's imbecile inefficiency is generally fair (it is well documented) is it equally fair, when the Duce was both militarily and diplomatically successful, between the years 1935 and 1938, to shift the grounds of the attack, introducing moral considerations, and also arguing that his successes were not worth the cost? However unpalatable, it remains a fact that Mussolini had acquired a strong position in Europe in 1938 and, if the Axis policy subsequently led to ruin, would the opposite policy of alliance with the western powers (adopted in 1915 by Italy and condemned by the author) have led to anything better? It may be doubted; Italy, as usual, was in a cleft stick, diplomatically.

The Catholic Church (rather surprisingly, for the author has hit it hard enough elsewhere) is treated with marked fairness, at least in the nineteenth century. That is because the object of attack is the government, and the Church in those years was part of the oppressed opposition. In the twentieth century it gradually became the ally of the government, so it naturally comes in for more criticism. In the end we are being warned that political freedom in Italy is endangered by the clericals. This is fair comment. But if the political attitude of the Church makes the author fearful for the future of parliamentary government in Italy, it is also evident, on his own showing, that Catholic sentiment has enabled the maintenance of a party large enough to govern, so that the multi-party menace which ruined the French Fourth Republic has so far been avoided.

There are a few strange judgments. Thus, reversing the usual view, though without saying why, the author tells us that the founder of Christian democracy, Romolo Murri, was not a modernist; and he is apparently shocked by Benedict XV's efforts to stop World War I. But he is generally a perceptive critic and his book has the freshness, originality, and power which come only from independent thinking about the elemental facts.

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Walter Bagehot. A Study of His Life and Thought together with a Selection from His Political Writings. By Norman St. John-Stevas. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 485. $7.50.)

Mr. St. John-Stevas, author of *Obscenity and the Law* and at present a fellow at the Yale Law School, has written this brief study of Bagehot as a labor of love. Attracted to Bagehot's *The English Constitution,* he undertook a serious study of the complete thought and life of the great nineteenth-century English banker-journalist-political thinker, only to learn that a definitive study of Bagehot was already in preparation. St. John-Stevas' *Walter Bagehot,* therefore, is in no way an original or final contribution to Bagehot scholarship. Yet the author has performed a valuable service. He gives a handy biography of Bagehot's life, a clear presentation of his thought, a bibliography of Bagehot's works, and a convenient survey of the Bagehot literature. And, most useful of all, the book contains a representative selection of Bagehot's own writings. These selections include all of *The English Constitution,* and parts of *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Lord Brougham, The Character of Sir Robert Peel; Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, Parliamentary Reform, Letters on the French Coup d' État, Physics and Politics,* and *The Advantages and Disadvantages of Becoming a Member of Parliament.* The selections are well-chosen, although, perhaps, more should have been taken from *Physics and Politics.*

Since Bagehot is known today chiefly for his *The English Constitution,* the author was right to include the whole of that work, and to give as well a study of constitutional development in England and in the United States since Bagehot's day. If Bagehot does not emerge as a major prophet, his insight into political workings of constitutional government has made his study a classic. Although Bagehot was a liberal, what strikes the modern reader is his conservatism; he is one of that great group of Victorians who feared the democracy which social circumstances were bringing about. It is this factor which makes his work a curiosity. Unfortunately, his conservatism was not combined, as was the case with Burke, with a truly deep understanding of human nature and of political principles. In no way does *The English Constitution* compare with the *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

If Bagehot did not possess Burke's genius, he had a stronger practical sense; his conservatism avoided Burke's absurdities. Bagehot's gifts are apparent not in judging the significance of the movement of events, but in penetrating into the meanings of political forms, and in his analysis of character. The most delightful selections in this book are the descriptions of Peel, Gladstone, and Disraeli. St. John-Stevas brings us into contact with a refined intellect and a brilliant portrayer of nineteenth-century political life.

FRANKLIN A. WALKER

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"The European Revolution" & Correspondence with Gobineau. By Alexis de Tocqueville. Translated and edited by John Lukacs. (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc. 1959. Pp. xi, 340. $1.25.)

It was a happy idea of Professor Lukacs to prepare for the Anchor Books the notes and uncompleted fragments of Tocqueville's ***L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*** to which he has added the Tocqueville Gobineau correspondence. This exchange of letters between 1843 and 1844, and 1852 until Tocqueville's death in 1859, is one of the most remarkable documents in the intellectual history of the nineteenth century. In his introduction to this correspondence Professor Lukacs does not by-pass the more bizarre aspects of Gobineau's personality and work. He does, however, insist that Gobineau was a "great writer," and he cites the respect held for him by Sorel and Renan and the appreciation of his style by Proust and Léon Bloy. The chronic anger which was so characteristic of Gobineau's life and work comes close to putting him permanently into the category of those writers whose final place is among the irresponsible thinkers of Europe. Yet one aspect of Gobineau's life restores him to the company of the serious and profoundly reflective minds of the nineteenth century. This is his relationship with Tocqueville. Tocqueville was not a man who suffered fools gladly. He was to become very short of temper with Gobineau. Tocqueville, nevertheless, genuinely respected Gobineau's insight and his driving will to understand the direction of the West. Their exchange of opinion on the future of European society still evokes, after a century, the excitement, the emotion, and the need for a deeper understanding of modern history that drew them together. This correspondence serves as an indispensable preface to that moment at the conjunction of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when so many of Europe's thinkers began to lose faith in the prospects of Europe. Tocqueville's confidence and fidelity to the European image of man and history stand almost alone in their strength and grand proportions. It is to Gobineau's everlasting credit that he provoked from Tocqueville this confession of faith in Europe and Christianity.

In preparing his excellent edition of Tocqueville's notes on the French Revolution the editor has acutely chosen to title Tocqueville's pages "The European Revolution." As he correctly asserts "this at least corresponds with the main concern in Tocqueville's mind. . . ." In his introductory discussion of twenty-eight pages Lukacs summarizes his long consideration of Tocqueville's qualities as an historian and his position in modern thought. He presents an original interpretation of Tocqueville's thought as that of a profound believer. Professor Lukacs' desire to accent Tocqueville's belief is contrary to the conventional presentation of this aspect of his personality. This problem is one of great significance. If Tocqueville is established, according to Lukacs' intention, as a great believer, then important facets of the religious history of the nineteenth century will have to be rewritten. The confrontation of Christianity with the problems of modern society will be greatly illuminated from the viewpoint of Tocqueville as a Christian thinker. For those for whom Tocqueville's portrait as a believer continues to be less sharp there remains his overwhelming importance as an historian of the great revolution. His own words to Gobineau explaining his intention in his *The Old Regime and the Revolution* offer the best comment on the significance of the unfinished history. He wrote of what he wished to do: "I took the only subject which even now is capable of electrifying public opinion to a certain degree, . . . the French Revolution. Until now its more visible history has been shown; I have turned it around to show what was beneath it." Tocqueville further confessed that, despite the depressing atmosphere of the Second Empire, this task not only occupied him "but in a way electrified me." It is an excitement that is still present in his writings on *"The European Revolution."*

EDWARD T. GARGAN

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The Correspondant and the Founding of the French Third Republic. By M. Caroline Ann Gimpl. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 239. $2.50.)

This doctoral dissertation examines the political views of the *Correspondant,* the principal organ of French Catholic liberals, from 1871 to 1875 and evaluates the journal's role in the formation of the Third

Republic. Staunch constitutional monarchists at heart, the collaborators of the *Correspondant* realistically concluded after the Count of Chambord's insistence on the white flag in 1873 that monarchy was dead in France for the foreseeable future. Thereafter, they labored to obtain the adherence of moderates to republicanism, hoping for a constitution which would to some extent reflect their convictions. In 1875 one of the men of the *Correspondant,* Henri Wallen, proposed the amendment which somewhat ambiguously brought the republic into being. But during this period the *Correspondant* was interested not so much in the form the government would take as in safeguarding the dignity and liberty of the individual and preventing the recurrence of revolutionary excesses. It was particularly concerned with the dangers of universal suffrage, over-centralization of government, and the possible tyranny of a popularly elected assembly.

The author has ably collected and analyzed the political views of the *Correspondant* coterie for the period 1871-1875. She has accomplished what she set out to do. The question is whether it was worth doing. Can an adequate doctoral dissertation be achieved by turning the pages of a mere four volumes of a journal and reporting what meets one's eyes? Over long segments of this book one encounters no citation other than to the pages of the *Correspondant.* Insufficient effort is made to relate this material to a larger frame of reference. Conclusions are often unnecessarily timid, e.g., in assessing the role of the *Correspondant* in the passage of the education bill of 1875, Sister Caroline Ann writes: ". . . the articles which appeared in the review from 1861 to 1875 represented and probably helped to form the moderating element which saved the law finally passed in 1875 from being rejected." Throughout this work, we find brave attempts to prove the influence and effectiveness of the Catholic liberals, but in the concluding chapter the author pretty well undermines herself, referring to the review as a "follower rather than a leader," "defensive and sometimes too conservative," "timid, irresolute and overcautious," "unable to exert much influence." The importance of the *Correspondant* for the period 1871-1875 finally comes down to the dismal fact that it existed as a "witness that not all Catholics . . . were committed to an extreme authoritarian and reactionary political philosophy" (p. 224).

LEON BERNARD

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France During the German Occupation, 1940-1944: A Collection of 292 Statements on the Government of Maréchal Pétain and Pierre Laval. Translated by Philip W. Whitcomb. Three Volumes. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. 587, 1052, 1666. $20.00.)

This work consists of 292 statements which were, according to the foreword, "Nearly all . . . assembled over a period of ten years by René de Chambrun and by Madame de Chambrun, the daughter of Pierre Laval. The greater part comes from persons who held important official positions in . . . [the Pétain and Laval] government both in France and in its overseas territories, before, during, and after the occupation." The compilation reflects, then, the overriding interest of its compilers which is, naturally, a defense of Laval. In consequence the result might seem to be only another addition to the long and swelling list of apologies flowing from the presses since the French defeat of 1940. Here, however, the explaining is more skillfully done than usual, and the central message deserves respect. The consistent argument is that Pierre Laval was not a fascist, or a Germanophile, but a true French nationalist. His unvarying goal was always to salvage, protect, and, if possible, even to foster the national heritage of France despite the presence of a hostile enemy who occupied and/or controlled the whole of the French nation. The defense is, in a kernel, that events of the occupation must not be judged in the spirit of the liberation and after, but in terms of the difficulties faced daily by those Frenchmen who had to live under the Germans.

Of these, those in the government, so the theme is developed here, quietly and earnestly fought to preserve the integrity of France and to protect her people from the exercise of German power. Their thankless task was "collaboration," the only alternative, these declarations imply, to the complete collapse and disintegration of France. The word "collaboration," used over and over again in these volumes, was deliberately employed by official Vichy pronouncements in a neutral and useful sense, obviously a predetermined device to counter the odious connotation it had acquired in an era of Quisling governments in Europe. "Collaboration" expressed the essence of Laval's conceived policy, i.e., to save France by seeming to co-operate but using this apparent co-operation to cloak a subtle resistance to those German demands most harmful to basic French national interests. In the testimony of his subordinates Laval is revealed as a man passionately believing in the capacity of the French administrative structure to perform this service, to uphold the state while army and nation lay in defeat.

These three volumes in the main depict, then, the operation of the French administration, the rationale which supported it, and its end—the frustration of German objectives in France, a game not infrequently successful. For France suffered less proportionately than any other occupied nation, and when liberation at length came, much remained of France's strength and capacities. The role of Laval in this preservation of the nation in a critical time would seem, then, in need of reassessment. A fine start was made in 1951 by David Thomson in his book on Laval and de Gaulle, *Two Frenchmen.* At any rate, the passions of the liberation period responsible for Laval's execution, national execration, and obloquy are hardly the best place to begin a judgment of this crafty Frenchman who chose so different a course from de Gaulle. Historians who seek a more balanced view of the men of Vichy will doubtless profit from perusal of these documents now made available in English by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. In addition the fourteen-page detailed table of contents in the French fashion (Volume I) and the twenty-two page index of proper names (Volume III) permit of easy access to parts of the material. Any student interested in this area of French history owes it to himself at least to become acquainted with these volumes.

ROBERT J. HÉNAULT

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

At the meeting of the executive council of the Association in Chicago on December 28 it was stated that some members would like to have more than the two sessions at the annual meetings at which papers are read and discussed. After consideration of the matter the council voted to introduce a third session at the New York meeting this coming Christmas week by way of an experiment. The executive office would be pleased to learn the reaction of the members to this change after they have had an opportunity to see its implementation at the coming annual meeting.

Plans have now been practically completed for the December program, according to Professor Arpad F. Kovacs of St. John's University, New York, chairman of the committee. The customary joint session with the American Historical Association will be devoted to urbanism in American religious life, while the joint session with the American Society of Church History will be on the subject of late mediaeval mysticism. The third session will be by way of an anticipated commemoration of the 1500th anniversary of the traditional date of the death of St. Patrick which will be kept in 1961. Further details concerning the annual meeting will be announced later in the REVIEW.

On October 3, 1959, to observe the millenary of the death of Gerard de Brogne, a Congress of Monastic History was held at the Abbey of Maredsous. It was presided over by Prof. Leopold Genicot of the University of Louvain and attended by many scholars of various nationalities. The sessions were devoted principally to the study of the life and work of the great reforming abbot. Thirteen papers read on this occasion have been published in the *Revue Bénédictine* (Vol. LXX, No. 1, 1960). Among the more interesting are the following: J. M. De Smet, "Recherches critiques sur la *Vita Gerardi Abbatis Broniensis*"; J. Wollasch, "Gerard von Brogne und seine Klostergründung"; J. Dubois, "Saint Eugène de Deuil. Sa personnalité et son culte"; H. Dauphin, "Le renouveau monastique en Angleterre au X^{e} siècle et ses rapports avec la réforme de saint Gérard de Brogne"; E. John, "The Sources of the English Monastic Reformation: A Comment"; J. Wollasch, "Gerard von Brogne im Reformmönchtum seiner Zeit"; and J. Leclercq, "Mérites d'un réformateur et limites d'une réforme."

Christopher Dawson delivered the annual B. K. Smith History Lecture at the University of St. Thomas, Houston, Texas. Several faculty members of neighboring institutions participated in the special session held on March 20. The public lecture, which will be published shortly by the University, was entitled "America and the Secularization of Modern Culture."

The sixty-fourth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science was held in Philadelphia on April 8 and 9. More than 500 delegates, representing twenty-five nations, four states, and 150 colleges, universities, and associations interested in international affairs, attended the meeting, which was devoted to the general theme, "Whither American Foreign Policy?" Approximately thirty Catholic institutions were included in the representation. The proceedings of the annual meeting will be printed in the July issue of the *Annals* of the Academy. Nonmembers may order copies at $2.00 per paperbound or $3.00 per clothbound copy from 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4. Superior papers were delivered by Louis B. Sohn of Harvard University on "Creating a Favorable World Opinion of American Foreign Policy," by Preston E. James of Syracuse University on "Implications of the Race between Economics and Population in Latin America," and by Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania on "Our Reaction to Communist Infiltration in Latin America." In addition, a lively exchange of viewpoints on "American Policy Towards Communist China" took place between the United States Senators from Pennsylvania, Joseph S. Clark and Hugh Scott. Because of the tense situation in the Union of South Africa in early April, the ambassador from that nation did not appear as scheduled to comment on the question: "Is America Involved in the Nationalist Ferment in Africa?" The American Catholic Historical Association was represented at the meeting by Robert E. Quigley of Holy Family College, Philadelphia.

The third annual symposium sponsored by the Department of History and the Faculty Seminar in American Civilization of the University of Notre Dame was held on April 8 and 9 on the general subject, "The Midwest: Myth or Reality?" The six papers dealt with the political and economic aspects of the region with a final session devoted to "The Image of the Midwest."

The third roundtable conference of the Institute of Ethnic Studies of Georgetown University was devoted to the general subject, "The Arab Middle East and Muslim Africa." Seven papers were read at four sessions held on April 29 and 30. The program opened with George Hourani of the University of Michigan speaking on "A Decade of Revolution: Social and

Political Changes, 1949-1959," and closed with William R. Polk of Harvard University discussing "Generations, Classes, and Politics, 1952-1959." The Association was represented by General Louis A. Craig.

The Institute of American History held its annual meeting on the campus of Stanford University on June 23-25. This year it met in co-operation with the College Entrance Examination Board. The general subject was the advanced placement program in history. Professor George H. Knoles, associate head, Department of History, Stanford University, is director of the Institute.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association will hold its annual meeting September 7-9, at the University of Washington in Seattle. Among the distinguished speakers invited are Mr. George Kennan and Senator Gale McGhee of Wyoming. There will be sessions running the gamut of the years from classical Greece to the Korean war. A special session will be devoted to the graduate training of historians; another to the co-ordination of the teaching of history at the high school and college levels. The president of the branch is Professor Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford University. Professor Armin Rappaport of the University of California, Berkeley, is the program chairman.

Julian Nava, chairman of the program planning committee of the Pacific Coast Conference on Latin American Studies, reports that this year's Conference will be held at Long Beach State College on October 7-9. The theme of the Conference will be "Ferment in Latin America."

The second of the two-volume *Bilan du monde, Encyclopédie catholique du monde chrétien* (Paris: Maison Casterman, 1958, 1960. Pp. 407, 820. $10. bound) has appeared. A group of Catholic sociologists of religion and missiologists under the direction of the editors of the Belgian review, *Église vivante,* has produced a unique "Guide to the Catholic Church throughout the World." The aim of the work is to describe the situation of the Church as it exists in every corner of the globe today. The Church is treated not as an isolated institution after the fashion of a Catholic almanac but in the context of its social and cultural milieu. The work is divided into three parts: the Universe as a whole and the great world-culture groups are analyzed in Volume I; the Church in each country from Aden to Zanzibar is surveyed in Volume II under a double aspect, namely, the present social and cultural state of the country and the presence of the Church in this milieu as reflected in population statistics, religious activities, and every other category relating to the life of the Church. This encyclopedia will be useful for students of contemporary history.

According to *Our Negro and Indian Missions, 1960,* which is the latest report of the Commission for Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians, the number of Catholic Negroes in the United States increased during the 1950's by 217,853 to a total of 615,964 as of January, 1960. For the same period there was a gain of 24,954 among the Catholic Indians, bringing the present total to 124,154. The largest number of colored Catholics continues to be concentrated in the Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana, which has 78,000; New Orleans, Washington, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia follow in that order. The Diocese of Gallup leads with 16,000 Catholic Indians, and the next largest groups by dioceses are found in Rapid City, Tucson, Santa Fe, Fargo and Helena in that order. During 1959 a total of $1,680,987.44 was received by the commission in the form of collections and gifts, and $1,720,000 were disbursed for the Negro and Indian missions.

This year marks the golden anniversary of *Recherches de Science Religieuse,* a journal that has been of great service to church historians. In 1908 it was clear that *Études* with its diverse interests could no longer give adequate space for articles on the history of non-Christian religions, the history of dogmatics, patristics, etc. Thus two years later the *Recherches* was born with Pere L. de Grandmaison, S.J., to guide its first steps. Over the next fifty years among its contributors were the names of many known Jesuit scholars such as J. Lebreton, P. Galtier, J. de Ghellink, A. d'Ales, P. Rousselot, P. Bouvier, H. de Lubac, S. Lyonnet, H. Rondet, J. Daniélou, G. de Broglie and many others. In the current issue Joseph Lechler, S.J., traces its history. [48 (1960), 7-39.]

Archivum (Tomo III, Cuaderno II, Julio-Dic., 1945-1959), a bi-annual journal of the *Junta de Historia Eclesiástica Argentina,* has resumed publication after having been suspended since 1945. The review was begun as the official organ of the *Junta* which was founded in 1942 by the Argentine episcopate to promote the study of the nation's church history. The present number is the sixth in the series and has the same features as the first issues. A bibliography section attempts to keep those interested in this field up to date and this issue brings the list to 1955. The substantial articles on various phases of the country's ecclesiastical history concentrate on the national period.

The Saint Augustine Lecture for 1959, given by Paul Henry, S.J., on "Saint Augustine on Personality," has been published by the Macmillan Company. The lecture series is presented under the auspices of Villanova University. It is expected that all future lectures will also be published in the series *Saint Augustine and the Augustinian Tradition,* under the editorship of Robert P. Russell, O.S.A.

The uncial manuscript of Augustine's *de doctrina Christiana* (known as Leningrad Q. v. 1, 3) is considered to be the oldest codex of his writings. Chatelain assigns it to the fifth century, and E. A. Lowe agrees with this judgment, believing furthermore that it might extend back into the fourth century. William M. Green after new study of the manuscript proposes that it was a first edition circulated between 396-426 probably in Hippo. ["A Fourth Century Manuscript of Saint Augustine?" *Revue Bénédictine,* 69 (1959), 191-197.]

Lumiere et Vie has produced a special issue [8 (November-December, 1959)] on the history of ecumenical councils and the points of view regarding conciliar theology and orthodoxy in the Eastern Churches. The articles written by Pierre-Thomas Camelot, O.P., Jérome Hamer, O.P., Yves M.-J. Congar, O.P. and others accent the procedures and problems that will face this coming assembly.

In the February number of *Manuscripta,* the St. Louis University Library quarterly, Professor W. Leonard Grant of the University of British Columbia exhorts users of the Vatican film collection to prepare select lists of the texts which they have found in their research. As an initial venture, he has published in this issue a detailed list of the materials which he has discovered in the field of Neo-Latin literature. Such continuing endeavors, he hopes, will make it possible for scholars to exploit the riches of the Knights of Columbus Vatican microfilm depository more fully.

Professors Marvin D. Bernstein of the State University of New York and Albert A. Blum of American University, Washington, D. C., present a provocative reconsideration of the causes of New World colonization by Spaniards and Englishmen in the October, 1959, issue of the *Journal of General Education* (University of Chicago Press). The authors offer a broad interpretation for Latin American development and indicate how land, trade, national unity and expansion also operated as factors in the Spanish colonization of the New World. They reject many of the popular stereotypes and clichés about the Spaniard's "evil shortcomings."

The current issue of the *Journal of World History,* published under the auspices of UNESCO, contains an article by Pasquale M. D'Elia, S.J., on the subject, "La reprise des missions catholiques en Chine à la fin des Ming (1579-1644)." Drawing heavily upon the *Fonti Ricciane,* which he edited in three volumes during the 1940's, Father D'Elia offers a significant elaboration on the unique missionary methods used by Father Matteo

Ricci and his associates in the Orient during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The author is a member of the faculty of the Gregorian Pontifical University in Rome.

Jean Mabillon has an uncontested place among the learned figures that emerged from *le grand siècle*. Studies of the career of this eminent Benedictine have been numerous since his death in 1707, but they are now scarce, in limited editions or classified as document sources rather than biographies. Now M. D. Knowles, O.S.B., has set his facile pen to producing a short portrait of *le doux Mabillon* that reviews his immense industry, his vision as a historian, his sense of critical observation. It also reveals his gentle but firm opposition in the controversies with the Bollandist Daniel Papebroch, and later with Armand de Rancé, the stormy abbot of La Trappe. ["Jean Mabillon," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 10 (October, 1959), 153-173.]

In cooperation with Professor Fred Eggan of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, Professor Paul S. Lietz of Loyola University, Chicago, is translating and editing the seventeenth-century *Historia de las Visayas,* written by Francisco Alcina, S.J., a missionary of some thirty-five years' residence in the central Philippines. The project is being supported by the Philippine Studies Program, a cooperative effort of the Newberry Library and the University of Chicago.

An eight-volume bibliography of travel literature on Latin America in modern times will be published by the Southern Illinois University Press. This series is intended to enrich and broaden the basis for research in the period of Latin American independence, particularly in reference to social and cultural aspects. The volumes will consist of annotated bibliographical entries for each travel account, book, or article, with information about the author, his itinerary, the duration and dates of his travels, and the subject-matter of his account. The general editor will provide a brief introduction to each volume, and the individual bibliographer will furnish an essay on his particular area. A detailed analytical index will be included in each volume. It is expected that the first two volumes will appear in 1962-1963.

The first edition of *ALAS,* a new quarterly published at the University of Florida (Gainesville, Florida), has recently appeared. This much needed publication will be dedicated to providing news of research and teaching activities and related matters in the field of Latin American studies.

The latest issue of *Historical Records and Studies* (Volume XLVII for 1959) contains a translation and an edition of a memoir by Giovanni Grassi, the Italian Jesuit, who was in the United States from 1810 to 1817 and who figured prominently in the history of the American Church during those years. It deals with the affairs of the re-established Society of Jesus in this country and has been edited by Arthur J. Arrieri, S.J., of the Fordham Preparatory School. Besides the regular account of the business of the United States Historical Society for the previous year, the current volume also contains five other brief essays.

Philip D. Jordan of the University of Minnesota and Arnold Schrier of the University of Cincinnati are engaged upon a project to edit the letters of Daniel W. Cahill. Father Cahill, a popular lecturer and pamphleteer in Ireland, came to this country in 1859 and traveled widely for about five years. He sent back a series of fortnightly letters that gave his impressions of the United States. Fifty-seven of these letters were carried by the *Catholic Telegraph and Irish Sun* with the principal motive of giving advice to prospective emigrants; now they constitute an interesting and highly appreciative commentary on American society on the eve of the Civil War.

A series of descriptive bibliographies regarding Western American History is to be a regular feature in *Arizona and the West*. Thirty-six basic topics have been chosen that cover such areas as explorations, culture, land policies, outlawry and justice, etc. The first assessment appeared in the autumn issue of last year [1 (Autumn, 1959), 217-231] prepared by the editor, John Alexander Carroll. It evaluates forty-four works that can be considered general "both in chronological span and geographical compass." This initial bulletin is entitled, "Broader Approaches to the History of the West. A Descriptive Bibliography."

The place of Catholics in early Australian political life is not a well-known segment of its rich history. Celia Hamilton brings light to this period by focusing on the years 1910-1916 during which the Victorian Labor Party struggled with the Catholic Worker's Association over labor legislation and the issue of educational policy in the Commonwealth. ["Catholic Interests and the Labor Party: Organized Catholic Action in Victoria and New South Wales, 1910-1916," *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand,* 9 (November, 1959), 62-71.]

Because of the current interest in the global problems, or possible global problems involved in overpopulation, Frans van Mechelen has prepared a helpful survey of writings in this field, "Events and Trends: Demography." [*World Justice,* 1 (March, 1960), 359-376.] This new Journal is published by the Research Center for International Social Justice at Louvain University, and to bring the results of its scholarship to a wider circle of readers, it appears as a quarterly in two editions, *World Justice* and *Justice dans le Monde.*

George C. A. Boehrer, associate professor of history in Georgetown University, has received a combined grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council for research in Brazil on the role of the Catholic Church in the overthrow of the Brazilian monarchy, 1855-1889.

M. K. Dziewanowski, associate professor of history in Boston College, has received a grant from the American Philosophical Society for the continuation of his project on federalism in Eastern Europe after World War I, and another grant from the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants for a trip to the Soviet Union to do research on Prince Adam Czartoryski as foreign minister of Tsar Alexander I. He will be on sabbatical leave, therefore, during the fall semester of 1960. Dr. Dziewanowski has recently been appointed associate of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University.

Lewis Hanke, University of Texas, will spend the summer in Europe, principally in Portugal, engaged in research. The new editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* who succeeds Professor Hanke after the latter's five and a half years in the post is Donald Worcester of the University of Florida.

William Keller, assistant professor of social studies in Seton Hall University, has been named director of the University's recently instituted graduate scholarship office; he has also been appointed to the editorial board of the *Advocate,* official newspaper of the Archdiocese of Newark.

Sister Joan de Lourdes Leonard, C.S.J., chairman of the Department of History of St. Joseph's College for Women, Brooklyn, and a member of the executive council of the Association, has been awarded a grant by the Social Science Research Council for the period from June, 1960, to February, 1961. In this way Sister Joan de Lourdes will be able to continue the investigations that she has been conducting for the past five summers at Colonial Williamsburg on Virginia's law-making process from the foundation to the Revolutionary War. This new grant supplements those that Sister Joan de Lourdes has already received from Colonial Williamsburg and will permit her to make substantial progress on the Virginian phase of her more general subject which she hopes to treat in a volume on the legislative processes followed in colonial America.

Thomas F. McGann of the University of Texas has received a research grant from the University for the summer and plans to continue work on his study of sixteenth-century Peru. Professor Robert E. Quirk of the University of Indiana will teach Latin American history and engage in research in the University of Texas during the summer of 1960.

Professor Joseph Menez, chairman of the Department of Political Science of Loyola University, Chicago, will be on a six months' State Department lectureship in Peru, beginning in June, 1960. He will speak on topics in the history of the United States at Arequipa, Cuzco and Lima.

Mr. Hugh Miller, a doctoral candidate at Loyola University, Chicago, is currently finishing a dissertation on Church and State in the Barrios regime in Guatemala. The work was made possible by a Fulbright grant.

Stanley Ross, the University of Nebraska's authority on modern Mexico, will teach during the summer at Columbia University.

Anthony F. Turhollow, associate professor of history in Loyola University of Los Angeles, has been awarded a Fulbright lectureship in American history to the University of Annamalai in the State of Madras, India, for the coming year.

Gaetano L. Vincitorio of St. John's University has been succeeded as president of the Catholic Metropolitan Conference for History and Political Science (New York) by Joseph Dwyer of Iona College. Dr. Vincitorio will take a sabbatical leave, beginning in September, 1961, in order to continue his research on Edmund Burke.

The United States Catholic Historical Society of New York has announced the Cardinal Spellman Prize, an annual award of $250 for the best manuscript submitted for publication in the Society's yearly volume of *Historical Records and Studies.* The subject matter is confined to the history of the Catholic Church in the western hemisphere. For further details those who are interested should write to the editor of the Society's publications at St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers 4, New York.

The Society of American Historians has announced the Francis Parkman Prize for 1960. Consisting of a cash award of $500 and an inscribed scroll, this prize is intended to stimulate the writing of history as literature and to promote sound historical scholarship. To be eligible for the prize, an author must submit a book published within the calendar year 1960 and dealing with any aspect of the colonial or national history of what is now the United States. Literary, religious, economic, political, scientific and technological, legal, constitutional and diplomatic history, as well as biography, falls within the field. Further information may be obtained from Prof. John A. Garraty, Secretary-Treasurer, The Society of American Historians, Inc., Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

The Guilday History Prize for 1960 has been awarded to James J. Hennesey, S.J., for his Master's dissertation entitled "The Origins and Development of the Goerresgesellschaft, 1876-1916." The award is made each year to a candidate for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of History of the Catholic University of America whose dissertation is judged the best of those submitted that year. Father Hennesey is now continuing his studies for the doctorate.

At its third annual meeting, the Board of Directors of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, Independence, Missouri, approved an extension of the Institute's grants-in-aid program. Applications for grants should be made to the Director of the Library by letter. Grants will normally be in amounts of less than $1,000, to cover travel and living expenses for short periods of study, primarily at the Truman Library. Subjects of study considered will depend upon materials available in the Library, and will be mainly those relating to the Truman Administration.

John H. Lamott died on February 15 at the age of seventy-one. Father Lamott studied at Mount Saint Mary's Seminary of the West in his native Cincinnati and finished his theological training in Rome as a student of the American College. After his ordination in 1912 he had two years of graduate work in church history at the University of Louvain, where he took the licentiate's degree. Having returned to the United States, he was appointed instructor of church history in the major seminary at Cincinnati. In 1921 he published his *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921,* which still remains one of the better histories of American Catholic dioceses. Two years later Father Lamott took charge of the parish of the Guardian Angels, of which he was pastor at the time of his death. He also taught for many years at the College of Mount Saint Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., died on June 12 at the age of ninety-two. He was born in Washington County, Kentucky, where his ancestors were among the earliest Catholic settlers. After joining the Dominican friars, he was trained at various houses of the order in this country and at Louvain, and during his nearly seventy-five years as a professed religious he served the Dominicans in a number of different capacities. But it was as an historian and archivist that Father O'Daniel rendered his most distinctive service to the Order of Preachers in the United States. It was due chiefly to his efforts that the sources for American Dominican history were collected and properly housed. In 1920, Father O'Daniel published his biography of Edward D. Fenwick, O.P., first Bishop of Cincinnati, and during the succeeding quarter century he continued to publish books and articles dealing with various phases of Dominican history in this country, among them a life of Richard P. Miles, O.P., first Bishop of Nashville (1926) and a series of essays dealing with the history of the friars' Province of St. Joseph (1942). The studies of Father O'Daniel in this field added appreciably to our knowledge of general American Catholic history, even if they did suffer at times from a bias in favor of his own religious order.

From the essay on John Ceslas Fenwick, O.P., that appeared in the inaugural issue of this REVIEW in April, 1915, Father O'Daniel was a frequent contributor to its pages, and from 1919 to 1929 he served as an associate editor. Moreover, he was a charter member of the Association, having been among the small group that launched the enterprise in December, 1919.

* * * *

To the Editors:

I did not expect that in a Catholic journal I would be accused of "irremissible sins" only because my book *From Florence to Brest,* which I wanted to be a contribution to the history of the Church, is not at the same time a contribution to English belles-lettres. And since the reviewer found "irritating" even the most insignificant printing errors, I must point out that he did not himself avoid such spelling mistakes as "obstinancy" or "Casmir" (three times instead of Casimir). Much more important are the factual errors in Father Marthaler's summary of my book, which I have to correct referring to the pages where I gave the accurate data.

At the time of the Council of Florence the Grand Duke of Moscow did not yet "dominate all of Great Russia," since Novgorod was annexed only in 1478 (p. 104), Tver in 1485 (p. 106), and Pskov and Riazan even later. It was not the Grand Duke of Lithuania who favored Eugene IV while King Sigismund of Poland supported the Council of Basel;

on the contrary, it was Grand Duke Sigismund of Lithuania who was in sympathy with Basel (p. 44), while the King of Poland, whose name was Ladislas III, turned to the legitimate pope (p. 66). Iona had usurped the title not of "Metropolitan of Moscow," but of Metropolitan of all Russia (p. 74). The fact that the rightful Metropolitan Isidore was then absent on his mission to Constantinople, is not "passed over" in my book but mentioned three times (pp. 71, 72, 73). Metropolitan Gregory never got recognition from any "Patriarch of Trebizond" (there was no such patriarch), but he was refused recognition by a Patriarch of Constantinople whose name was Simon of Trebizond, and later granted recognition by the next Patriarch of Constantinople, Dionysius (p. 97). Skarga's famous treatise on church unity was first published not in 1569 but in 1577 (p. 197), the correct date being significant because it coincides with the foundation of the Greek College in Rome by Gregory XIII.

The reviewer concludes that in my book "there is little . . . not previously told (frequently by Halecki himself)." Fortunately, the specialists will notice that I used my American scholarships which I gratefully acknowledged, for more than supporting my "thesis with fresh documentation." If I frequently had to quote some of my earlier publications, it was mainly because, working on my book, I published in advance some of the most important unknown sources which I discovered and which needed special commentaries. And trying to avoid repetition of what had been told before by others, I omitted, indeed, to quote once more the memorandum of Baronius, printed as early as 1598 as an appendix to his Tome VII (not IX, as stated in the review), because it is merely a compilation of well known documents. I preferred to quote instead (p. 328 n. 72) new, unpublished accounts of the reception of the Ruthenian bishops by Pope Clement VIII which I found in the Vatican Library and in the State Archives of Venice.

OSCAR HALECKI

BRIEF NOTICES

BOATNER, MARK M. III. *The Civil War Dictionary.* (New York: David McKay Co., Inc. 1959. Pp. xvi, 974. $15.00.)

Lieutenant Colonel Boatner has made a useful contribution to Civil War writings in this dictionary. He has covered major and minor battles, campaigns, weapons, ammunition, flags, and personalities. Some 2,000 biographical sketches are included with remarkably lively comments, considering the brevity required. We may learn the kind of horses the important generals rode, the family connections of the wives, and in some cases such as those of Kirby Smith and John H. Morgan, the romantic circumstances leading to matrimony. The work contains concise histories of the corps of both armies, and of a large number of important regiments. There are some errors but on the whole, not too serious ones, e.g., it is stated, George H. "Maryland" Steuart, captured at the Spotsylvania (1864), was exchanged and commanded his brigade under Pickett at Gettysburg (1863), (p. 796). Aside from the descrepancy in time sequence, he served under Johnson at the latter battle. Lee (p. 847) is reported to have seen his horse, Traveller, for the first time in the West Virginia campaign of 1864 instead of 1861 (p. 847). Ziegler's Grove is confused with the "clump of trees" or the "High Tide" at Gettysburg (p. 954). General Paul J. Semmes was mortally wounded on July 2 at Gettysburg, not July 1 (p. 731). General J. A. J. Lighthurn commanded a brigade in the XV Corps at Vicksburg, not Gettysburg (p. 483). The account of the Engagement of Westport (p. 906) quotes Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border,* [this was] "the biggest Civil War engagement west of the Missouri." If we except the capture of Arkansas Post, and if we substitute the Mississippi for the Missouri, Mr. Monaghan is, perhaps, right, but why quote him?

While these errors indicate that the *Dictionary* must be used with caution, one may recall Allan Nevins' statement that D. S. Freeman was quite happy at finding only some fifty slips in *R. E. Lee.* The maps are good, particularly the battle tactics sketches. The work is well organized in this reviewer's opinion, and any constant student of the Civil War will want it available. (J. WALTER COLEMAN)

BÜHLER, CURT F. *The University and the Press in Fifteenth-Century Bologna.* No. VII. [Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education.] (Notre Dame: Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame. 1958. Pp. 109.)

The contract for the establishment of the first printing press in Bologna was drawn up in 1470, and one of the three men making the contract, Annibale Malpigli, was a member of the University of Bologna faculty at the time, and another, Baldassarre Azzoguidi, was a member of a family which at various times in the past had been represented on the faculty. The third, Francesco dal Pozzo, was tutor of the children of Giovanni Bentivoglio II. During the rest of the fifteenth century various faculty members were from time to time connected with the printing industry in Bologna.

Mr. Bühler's work supplies us, for the first time, with a dependably accurate list of the 519 incunables which issued from the Bologna presses. He found it necessary to reject ninety-seven items which earlier bibliographers had attributed to Bologna, and has added 109 others which had not been previously listed. His analysis shows that over seventy-five percent of the incunables represent works of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, many of them now forgotten: printers brought them out because there was an interest at the moment and they would "sell." Bologna produced surprisingly few incunables of the classic works in law, literature, theology, science, or other fields. As to the fields in which the works which were published fell, legal works led, with twenty-six percent, and scientific works were second with twenty-two percent.

The author has turned up a number of interesting items, e.g., we note that in 1499 a faculty member, Philippus Beroaldus, entered into a contract with the printer, Benedictus Hectoris, for the printing of an edition of the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius: the edition was to consist of 1,200 copies, with a few extra to distribute freely for "sales promotion"; in addition to supplying copy and reading proof, Beroaldus also agreed to lecture on the *Golden Ass* at the university, and to praise this particular edition. The profits were to be divided equally. The work appeared in August, in good time for the beginning of the scholastic year in October. Some things change over the years, while others go along about the same. (WALTER W. WILKINSON)

CALVET, JEAN. *Louise de Marillac, A Portrait.* Translated by G. F. Pullen; Introduction by L. C. Sheppard. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1959. Pp. 205. $4.95.)

This biography throws into sharp relief two figures who by the force of their lives added a new tone, and a strong one, to the sickly colors of seventeenth-century French spirituality. The familiar figure, St. Vincent de Paul, is brought to life as the spiritual director and co-worker of St. Louise de Marillac, illegitimate daughter of the proud and accomplished Marillac family, which included a Keeper of the Seals and a Marshal of France, both her uncles. Monsignor Calvet, already a distinguished biographer of St. Vincent de Paul, skillfully traces many threads through the years 1591 to 1660. The interior history of Louise is followed from neglected childhood and physical weakness, through self-torment in marriage, to the meeting with Vincent, who led her to the supervision of his Ladies of Charity and then to the founding of the Daughters of Charity. After admirably outlining the growth of the congregation the author returns to sketch with understanding and accuracy the spiritual growth of St. Louise from scrupulosity to mystical union.

The prevailing effect is that of an intelligent human being caught up in the supernatural, striving and being carried beyond her natural limitations. Reality—natural and supernatural—is always present. It is regrettable that Monsignor Calvet's understanding of his subject and of the seventeenth century is marred by a few misplaced political events in the first part of the book. But however much this may rankle historians, there can be no doubt that the sentimental and pessimistic mists of that century's spirituality are dissipated. Neither Pascal nor Madame Guyon have their place in the life of their contemporary. (J. MICHAEL HAYDEN)

CLARK, WILLIAM BELL. *George Washington's Navy. Being an Account of His Excellency's Fleet in New England Waters.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 275. $5.00.)

One does not think readily of George Washington as being connected with naval operations, at least during his early days as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. Yet it is true that he directed the creation of a flotilla of small vessels whose aim it was to capture ships bringing arms and supplies to the British in Boston. This volume describes in detail the tribulations surrounding the outfitting, operation, and maintenance of the first Continental fleet during 1775-1777. It shows that Washington was concerned directly with decisions as to appointments, armaments, locales of cruising, and disposition of prizes; and it demonstrates that he had as much trouble with this naval phase of his activity as he did with the better known army crises.

The principal ports involved were Marblehead, Beverly, and Plymouth, with Cape Ann and Falmouth (in Maine) serving as additional centers where prizes were landed. The leading seamen were John Manley (named commodore), James Mugford (killed in action), and John Skimmer. William Bartlett, Jonathan Glover, and William Watson were capable agents in outfitting the ships and in handling captured vessels and cargoes, but they ran into trouble when, on Washington's departure southward, the Continental Congress appointed John Bradford as its representative and he tried to take over retroactively in order to increase his commissions. In spite of the bickerings, however, some important captures were made, including several transports filled with Scotch soldiers. Most significant were the cargoes of arms, ammunition, and clothing which came to hand at a time when such items were needed desperately by the infant Continental Army. Mr. Clark has written this book as one more of his studies on naval warfare during the Revolutionary period. It is a careful, documented narrative, but it reads so smoothly that one smells the salt sea air and hears the wind in the rigging as the little fleet sets sail in good weather and bad to accomplish its mission. (WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.)

DELL, R. S. *An Atlas of Christian History.* (London: George Philip & Son, Ltd. 1960. Pp. 25. 4s6d.)

The Vice Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, with the assistance of H. Fullard, the publisher's cartographic editor, has assembled here fourteen maps to illustrate the history of Christianity from New Testament times to the present day. In a six-page introduction the principal developments in the expansion of the Church are sketched in a few broad strokes, and there is likewise a three-page index which should prove adequate for finding the location of a particular country, river, or town on the maps. In view of the lack of illustrative material of this kind for ecclesiastical history, church historians will find this little booklet a useful tool, and so, too, will others who may wish to integrate some of the Church's story in their accounts of secular history. Each map is accompanied by a legend that gives pertinent data, such as population figures for the area in question. In the map of North and Central America, for historical reasons San Antonio would have prior claim to appear on any map that includes Texas rather than Dallas and Houston. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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Burke, Thomas J. M., S.J. (Ed.). *Sinews of Love. The Face of the World as Seen by Men of God.* (New York: New American Library of World Literature, Inc. 1960. Pp. 160. $1.95.)

Burrell, Sidney. (Introduction and Notes.) *Amiable Renegade. The Memoirs of Captain Peter Drake, 1671-1753.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1960. Pp. xliii, 410. $7.50.)

Burton, Katherine. *The Dream Lives Forever. The Story of St. Patrick's Cathedral.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc. 1960. Pp. xiii, 238. $4.50.)

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Clark, George. *Early Modern Europe. From about 1450 to about 1720.* [A Galaxy Book.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. 261. $1.50.)

Corwin, Virginia. *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 293. $5.00.)

Curtayne, Alice. *The Irish Story. A Survey of Irish History and Culture.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1960. Pp. 215. $3.95.)

de Barry, William Theodore. (Ed.) *et al. Sources of Chinese Tradition.* (New York: Columbia Press. 1960. Pp. xxiv, 976. $7.50.)

de Burgh, W. G. *The Legacy of the Ancient World.* [Third edition revised and enlarged.] (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1960. Pp. xx, 548. $5.00.)

de Leturia, Pedro, S.J. *Relaciones entre la Santa Sede e Hispanoamérica, 1493-1835.* 3 vols. (Roma: Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu. 1959-1960. Pp. 414, 519, 608. $13.00.) A collection of fifty-six studies by Pedro de Leturia, S.J. which has been carefully edited and furnished with appropriate introductions. This valuable work appears as the joint product of the Gregorian University in Rome (*Analecta Gregoriana,* Vols. 102-104) and the Sociedad Bolivariana de Venezuela in Caracas.

Dell, R. S. *An Atlas of Christian History.* (London: George Philip & Son, Ltd. 1960. Pp. 25. 25/6d.)

Department of State. *Background of Heads of Government Conference, 1960.Principal Documents of 1955-1959. With Narrative Summary.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1960. Pp. xxxix, 478. $1.25.)

de Valinger, Leon, Jr. (Ed.). *Court Records of Kent County, Delaware, 1680-1705. American Legal Records.* Vol. VIII. (Washington: American Historical Association. 1959. Pp. xxii, 382.) This eighth volume in the American Legal Record series is unique in being only what the editor calls "an attractive reference volume." The Legal History Committee has been content to produce a bare court record, accurately transcribed, without so much as a single footnote to suggest interpretation. There is no considerable introductory material.

de Tolnay, Charles. *Michelangelo—The Final Period. Last Judgment; Frescoes of the Pauline Chapel; Last Pietàs.* Vol. V. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. 271; plates 376. $30.00.)

Diamant, Alfred. *Austrian Catholics and the First Republic. Democracy, Capitalism, and the Social Order, 1918-1934.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 325. $6.50.)

Duff, John J. *A. Lincoln—Prairie Lawyer.* (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1960. Pp. viii, 433. $7.50.)

Duggan, Alfred. *The Cunning of the Dove.* (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1960. Pp. 254. $3.50.) An historical novel about St. Edward the Confessor.

Easton, Stewart C. *The Heritage of the Ancient World. From the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome.* (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1960. Pp. xii, 468. $6.50.) An outstanding college text with emphasis on cultural history. It is well organized and brightly written, and is furnished with good maps and chronological charts, excellent illustrations, and really serviceable index. The treatment of Oriental history is refreshingly concrete and accurate, and the history of the Hebrews and of Early Christianity is much more satisfactory than is the case in most similar texts. It would be desirable, however, to add one or two representative books by Catholic scholars to the historical works listed in the "Suggestions for Further Reading" on pp. 137-138, and 411-412.

Eccles, W. J. *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor.* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Ltd. 1960. Pp. ix, 406. $6.50.)

Espinosa, José E. Introduction by Fray Angélico Chavez. *Saints in the Valleys. Christian Sacred Images in the History, Life and Folk Art of Spanish New Mexico.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico. 1960. Pp. xiii, 122. $6.50.)

Fanfani, Amintore. Translated by Henry J. Yannone. *Catechism of Catholic Social Teaching.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1960. Pp. xxvii, 208. $2.95.)

Fawtier, Robert. Translated by Lionel Butler and Robin Adam. *The Capetian Kings of France.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc. 1960. Pp. x, 242. $7.50.)

Gankin, Olga Hess, and H. H. Fisher. *The Bolsheviks and the World War. The Origins of the Third International.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 856. $10.00.) The second printing of a work that was originally published in 1940.

Gilson, Etienne. *Elements of Christian Philosophy.* (New York: Doubleday & Co. 1960. Pp. 358. $6.95.)

Gregorio, O. *et al* (Eds.). *S. Alfonso M. de Liguori. Opere Ascetiche. Introduzione Generale.* (Roma. Edizioni di storia e letteratura. 1960. Pp. xvii, 409.)

Griffin, Clifford S. *Their Brothers' Keepers. Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 332. $6.00.)

Grisar, Josef, S.I. *Die ersten Anklagen in Rom gegen das Institut Maria Wards, 1622.* [*Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae,* Vol. XXII.] (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1959. Pp. xx, 265.)

Helmreich, Ernst Christian. *Religious Education in German Schools. An Historical Approach.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 365. $7.50.)

Hilton, George W., and John F. Due. *The Electric Interurban Railways in America.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 463. $9.50.)

Hoffman, Ronan, O.F.M. Conv. *Pioneer Theories of Missiology.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 182. $3.25.)

Hunt, R. N. Carew (Ed.). *Books on Communism.* [A bibliography.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 333. $2.70.)

Jemolo, A. C. Translated by David Moore. *Church and State in Italy, 1850-1950.* (Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell. 1960. Pp. vii, 344. 30 s. net.)

Jones, Maldwyn Allen. *American Immigration.* [The Chicago History of American Civilization. Edited by Daniel J. Boorstin.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 359. $6.00.)

Kann, Robert A. *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History. From Late Baroque to Romanticism.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. 1960. Pp. xxii, 367. $6.00.)

Keir, David Lindsay. *The Constitutional History of Modern Britain Since 1485.* (London: Adam and Charles Black. [Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc.] 1960. Pp. viii, 579. $6.50.) The sixth revised edition of a work by the Master of Balliol College, Oxford, published in 1938.

Klement, Frank L. *The Copperheads in the Middle West.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 341. $7.50.)

Knowles, David. *Lord Macaulay, 1800-59.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. 31. 75¢.)

Kraeling, Emil G. (Ed.). *Historical Atlas of the Holy Land.* (New York: Rand McNally & Co. 1960. Pp. 88.) This handy booklet is an abridgment of the large *Bible Atlas* by the same author. It contains forty full color maps, and the text is accompanied by good photographs and a complete bible history outline.

Leff, Gordon A. *Medieval Thought. From St. Augustine to Ockham.* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc. 1958. Pp. ix, 316.)

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Lewy, Guenter. *Constitutionalism and Statecraft during the Golden Age of Spain: A Study of the Political Philosophy of Juan de Mariana, S.J.* (Genève: Librairie E. Droz. 1960. 199. Fr. s. 20.-)

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Lucas, Henry S. *The Renaissance and the Reformation.* (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 757. $8.50.) The second edition of a very popular volume first published in 1934. Chapters I-III have been rewritten along with a large number of paragraphs and brief passages in other parts of the book. Professor Lucas was President of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1949.

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Molnar, Thomas. *Bernanos. His Political Thought and Prophecy.* (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1960. Pp. xxi, 202. $3.95.)

Moscati, Sabatino. *The Face of the Ancient Orient. A Panorama of Near Eastern Civilizations in Pre-Classical Times.* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc. 1960. Pp. xvi, 328. $6.00.)

Murphy, John L. *The Notion of Tradition in John Driedo.* (Milwaukee: Seraphic Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 321. $3.00.) A Ph.D. dissertation.

Neill, Thomas P., Daniel D. McGarry, Clarence L. Hohl. *A History of Western Civilization.* Vol. II. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1960. Pp. xii, 1274. $6.95.)

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Quinn, Charles Russell. *Christmas Journey into the Desert.* (Downey, California: Elena Quinn. 1959. Pp. 61.) A story based in the main on the diaries of Juan Bautista de Anza and Father Pedro Font, O.F.M., translated by the late Herbert Eugene Bolton.

Quirk, Robert E. *The Mexican Revolution, 1914-1915.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1960. Pp. 325. $6.75.)

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Scharp, Heinrich. *How the Catholic Church is Governed.* (New York: Herder and Herder, Inc. 1960. Pp. 167. $2.95.) Eight brief chapters on all phases of the central government of the Church. The book is a translation by Annelise Derrick from the German original published in 1954.

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Singletary. Otis. A. *The Mexican War.* [The Chicago History of American Civilization. Edited by Daniel J. Boorstin.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 181. $3.75.)

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Underdown, David. *Royalist Conspiracy in England, 1649-1660.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xvii, 374. $6.00.)

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Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. (Ed.). *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar.* [Nelson's Medieval Texts.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. lxvii, 137. $6.75.)

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William of St. Thierry. Translated by Geoffrey Webb and Adrian Walker. *St. Bernard of Clairvaux.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1960. Pp. 130. $2.75.) The original story of his life as recorded in *Vita Prima Bernardi* by his contemporaries.

Wiznitzer, Arnold. *Jews in Colonial Brazil.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 227. $7.00.)

Wood, Anthony. *Nineteenth Century Britain, 1815-1914.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc. 1960. Pp. xi, 476. $7.50.) An introductory work by an assistant master at Winchester College.